

¶ The Familiar Epistles of
ſir Antonie of Gueuara,
Preacher, Chronicler, and Counſeller
to the Emperour Charles the fiſt: Tranſla-
ted out of the Spaniſh tongue, by Edward
Hellowes, Groome of the Leaſh, and now
newly imprinted, corrected and enlar-
ged vvith other Epistles of the
ſame Authour.

Wherein are contained verie notable let-
ters, excellent diſcourſes, curious ſayings,
and moſt naturall reaſons.

Wherein are contained expositions of cer-
taine figures, authorities of holie Scripture, verie
good to be preached, and better
to be followed.

Wherein are contained declarations of an-
cient ſtampes, of writings vpon ſtones, Epi-
taphes of Sepulchres, lawes and
cuſtomes of the Gentiles.

Wherin are contained doctrines, examples
and counſels for Princes, for Noble men, for Lawyers,
and Churchmen: verie profitable to be fo-
lowed, and pleaſant to be read.

AT LONDON,
Printed by Ralph Newberie
anno ſalutis, 1584.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis.

The Family Bibles of

W. G. ...

Teacher, Chronologist and Counsellor

to the Church of England, and the

and out of the same, by Edward

W. G. ...

and out of the same, by Edward

W. G. ...

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W. G. ...

W. G. ...

Printed by Ralph Newson

at London

in the Year 1711

To the right Wor-
shipful Sir Henrie Lee Knight,
Maister of the Leash.



*I*ght worshipfull, be-
ing combred with doubt
to bee noted of rashe pre-
sumption, and no lesse af-
flicted with that vncouth
and detestable vice of dull
despaire: I was constrained
with too much oddes, to
endure combate with both
these furious spirites: and after long conflict, as it were
by the waie of taking breath, they began to argue: and
first despaire (being more fierce, with thinne face and
holowe eies) grimly beganne to saie: Oh beastly
swine without prouidence, and enraged Beare, to per-
forme thy owne disposition, without all grace or lear-
ning, and voide of al consideration of the issue of iudge-
ment of others, which greedily despise, hate and beare
enuie, and at all times cease not to persecute the feeble
attempts, which thou and others takest in hand, euerie
of which euils with manie others might be auoided, if
by the nature and manner of my disposition thou
couldst keepe thy selfe cby and mute. But with great
impatience presumption did breathe forth these or such
like words: Ah miserable Cockatrice, and caytife most
cruel to mankinde, which by thy ouglie shape declarest

The Epistle

the loathsome fruit of my wretched nature, which in all times and places doest practise the ouerthrow of all honest, laudable, and noble enterprises, wherein they would haue vsed manie tedious arguments, if I had not cut off by sute for diuine assistance. Presently obtaining two such ancient and famous champions, of no common singularitie, by whose presidents, directions, and conductions, I was forthwith deliuered of all perplexities, namely Lucifer and Iudas: but therewithal, not omitting to succour my selfe with the wisdom and policie of the Bee, which gathereth honie out of nettles, which both and iointly made such discourses of the horrible euils, desperate mischiefes, and cruell mishaps, that haue ensued the hateful cōpanie of both these companions aforesaid, in such sensible manner, as such feeling witnessies possibly might report. Leauing all their particular reasons which would growe ouerlong, they conoluded, that euerie extremitie ingendreth vice, and onelie vertue is that which is equal in balancet and so departed. Thereby giuing to vnderstand, that the vertue of a noble minde, is neither daunted with forward Fortune, either exalted or puffed vp with giftes of prosperitie. And presently beeing brought to a certaine examination, I was driven flatly to confesse, that all strength is weakenesse, all knowledge ignorancie, actiuitie impotencie, wisdom foolishnesse, iustice wrong, temperance rashnesse, fortitude cowardnesse, and all perfection but corruption: of all which, and no other notable deedes, man whatsoeuer, may presume and boast himselfe, but when God alone vnto diligence doth adde his grace. And thus presumption with his sequele being remooued, and despaire with his drowisie troupe

troupe beeing vanished, depending onely of diuine prouidence, I began to call to minde my God, my Prince, my countrie, and also your worship, of whome I had receiued many good things, being verie loath to shewe my selfe vterly idle, either ingrate, receyuing aduertisement of Gueuara, which giueth vs to vnderstande, that since the beginning of the worlde, there hath not beene any Prince that hath excelled, or to whome Iulius Caesar, either Alexander the great, ought to giue place: obtaining fouereigntie in their seuerall vertues, namely the one in pardoning of iniuries, the other in giuing large and bountifull rewardes: affirming therewithall, that to the ingrate or vnthankfull man, neither would Alexander giue any rewarde, either Iulius Caesar pardon iniurie: giuing vs thereby to vnderstand, that they helde it much better to darken their owne singular and renowned vertues, than to yeeld benefite vnto so detestable vice. Foorthwith beeing vrged thereby to confesse my debt, and constreyned to shake off all drowsie forgetfulnessse, and awake my dull spirites to yeeld my selfe as abandoned to doe your worship either seruice or pleasure: but my treasure and storehouse being searched and ranackt, I finde it furnished with no other implements, but emptie abilitie, and barren facultie to performe the same: forced in the place of workes to furnish the satisfaction with wordes. Yet franckly confessing that although oportunitie shal deny to yeeld her selfe to stretch to the merit of your great goodnesse vsed with me: notwithstanding at all times and places, wordes of confession and disposition to performe, shall neuer ceasse to doe their indeuour to escape the vnkind disgrace of ingratitude. Adding thereby hardines vnto

The Epistle dedicatorie.

my selfe once more to attempt your patience with this
present of Gueuara being finished, corrected, and also
out of the French booke somewhat augmented, with
matter both heroicall and diuine: the praise and com-
mendation whereof, I rather remitte vnto the glorious
fame of the Authour himselfe, than tediously without
skill to paint or polish the same with colours of imper-
fect hewe. Right humbly beseeching your worship to
accept the same with the mildnesse of your wonted fa-
uour: and (as it apperteineth) I shall not cease to pray,
that the protection of the liuing God may conduct
and follow you with perfect felicitie in all no-
blenesse both of body & mind, as may
yeeld your worship before God
and man immortall
renowne.

Your worships most humble
to commaunde

Edward Hellower.

To the Reader.

RIGHT gentle Reader, in all nations, countries, and common weales, although barbarous, yet in respect of the office of Harolde, Pursuant, Messenger, or Interpreter, they alwaies beare with patience, and take in good part, all actions both of worde and deede, appertaining vnto his office: and sometimes of their owne noblenesse, doe bountifully rewarde the same, although he utter vnto them matter both opprobrious and spightfull. And also Gueuara maketh report, that it was a law among the Romans, that no man whatsoeuer, should aduenture to approch the Emperours tent in the night and time of warre vpon paine of death. The Emperour Aurelius as then making warre with Zenobia Queene of Palmeris, it chanced, that a certaine Greeke souldier was apprehended within the compasse of the same, being committed to be executed for his offence, the Emperour himselfe from within his pavilion with a lowde voice cryed out and saide, If his approach were for himselfe, let him die for it, but if it be for another, let him liue. The matter beeing searched and exammed, it was found, that he came to sue for his two fellows that were taken sleeping in the watch, which after whipping should haue beene deliuered vnto the enemies. And so it came to passe, that the souldier escaped death, his fellows deliuered from punishment, and the Emperour of clemencie obtained immortall renowne. Of all which premisses, me thinketh I gather vnto my selfe, a safetie and protection from all iniurie, both of worde and deede of all manner of men, not vnreasonable, which in this matter haue vsed both the office of messenger, interpreter, and soliciter: but to my owne paine, and thy profite, beeing viterly without doubt to be requited with thy ingratitude. And whereas, but with such time as was rather stretched vnto the liking of him that might commaunde them meeete for the matter, I haue not onely corrected, but also performed the translation of the first booke of the familiar Epistles of Gueuara, that were not translated, and further finding certaine Epistles and disputations of the saide Author, by no man as yet translated, wandering and as it might seeme taking leane: I thought it more conuenient

To the Reader.

to entertaine the same with my simple English speache, than to hazard the losse of so rare, singular, diuine, and most necessary doctrine therein conteined, although but with my poore abilitie: flatterie confessing that I want both glosse and hewe of rare eloquence, vsed in the polishing of the rest of his workes: neuerthelesse most certainly affirming, that it goeth agreeable vnto the Author thereof. For due commendations whereof, for want of time I shall yeelde no other wordes, than be contained in my former Preface, as followeth. Being furnished so fully with sincere doctrine, so vnused eloquence, so high a stile, so apt similitudes, so excellent discourses, so conuenient examples, so profounde sentences, so old antiquities, so auncient histories, such varietie of matter, so pleasant recreations, so straunge thinges alledged, and certaine parcelles of Scripture with such dexterity handled, that it may hardly be discerned, whether shall bee greater, either thy pleasure by reading, or profita by following the same. Like as in a most curious shoppe furnished with incomparable drugs, and most precious spices, both to preserue health, as also to expell most pestilent diseases: euen so herein is plentifully to be found thinges not onely precious to conserue, but also to remedie the contagion of any estate both in peace and warre. As rules for Kinges to rule, counsellors to counsell, magistrates to governe, prelates to practise, capteines to execute, souldiers to performe, the married to followe, the prosperous to prosecute, and the poore in aduersitie to bee comforted, wherem he delicately toucheth with most curious sayings, and no lesse Philosophie, how to write or talke with all men, in all matters at large, with matter so apt, so learned, so merrie, & also so grave with instructions of behauiour, with thy better, with thy equall, with thy friende, with thy foe, with thy wife, seruant, & children: that for praise and aduancement thereof, wordes most certainly, and also time may want, but not matter and iust occasion to commend the same. Commending the rest vnto thy good consideration, and yeelding my selfe vnto thy mildnesse, grace, and fauour, I commit thee to the liuing God, to whome be praise for euermore.

A M E N.

1

¶ To the Gouvernour *Angulo*, declaring
many good doctrines, vvith other con-
solations to such as are Widowers.

THe fourth of Ianuarie, I receiued
your letters, whych standing albeit moze
vpon varietie of wordes than necessitie of
matter, yet they well expessed your settled
grauitie, and no lesse resembled our aunci-
ent friendshippe. Amongest other things
bearing pray'e to your behanior, I am glad
you haue forsaken the wars, and giuen ouer
the regiment of *Nauarre*, for that I holde those people harde to re-
claime, and not easie to gouerne. And in this common absence of
ours, albeit we coulde not cōueniently communicate in the state
and partes of our priuate conuersation, yet, for that you were em-
ployed out of the realme, I remained alwayes in desire to know
how you kept societie with fortune, bicause, suche are the checkes
and mutations whiche she brings generally vppon people of the
worlde, that she neither dissembleth with the stranger, and much
lesse pardoneth such as be naturall. For whiche cause Cicero writ-
ting to his friend Atticus, restraineth one friend to wishe to an o-
ther moze than these three things, To enioy health, to possesse ho-
nor, and not to suffer necessitie, the same well expressing a christi-
an modestie, and truely agreeing with humane reason: For, to him
that hath sufficiencie to furnish the vse & necessitie of his life, what
remaineth to be required moze? Who enioyeth continuall health
lacketh nothing to make vp his felicitie of his worldly delights:
& what can that man haue lost in this world, who neuer losse the
reputation of his honour? Therfore, neither I for you, nor you for
me, are bound to desire moze one for an other, than to haue health
for the solace of our transitorie time: to enioy a cōpetent measure
of wealth for the administration of our life: and to be raised to ho-
nour, by the which we may retaine reputation. For, as all other
A. - things

Three de-
sires among
friendes.

Golden Epistles.

things are passed to vs by fortune, not to honoꝛ vs, but to affront vs: so, sir, I wish you this moderation, to rest contented with that which God hath bestowed on you, and giue him often recompse of humble thanks, soꝛ taking you out of so many daungers: soꝛ, as much doe we owe to God soꝛ the daungers from which he deliuereth vs, as soꝛ the greate wealth and dignities wherevnto he hath alwayes raised vs.

The proper-
tie of Gods
loue toward
vs.

God is so good, and lones vs with so swete affection, that alwayes he requireth vs, continually he doth vs good, neuer ceaseth to visite vs, and seldome spareth to aduertise vs: yea, he handleth vs not as our offences deserue, but as his mercie willeth. Cuill shoulde it stand with vs sinners, if with the rod of sin, God should do present iustice, seeing that suche is the horroꝛ and infamie of sinne, that if immediatly with the face God woulde putte vs to punishmentes, our soules woulde be carried soꝛthwith into the bottome of hel.

As it is suffered in the high and hidden secretes of God, to dissemble some things, to pardon others, and correct the rest: so let vs remember, that God vseth no small mercie to him whome he chastiseth in this woꝛld, since that, to whom he giues no affliction, it seemes he is of him much soꝛgottē. Therfoze, when God administreth to vs diseases, soꝛowes, deaths, and infelicities, they be not things wherewith he chastiseth vs, but necessarie matters by the whiche he visiteth our fraile condition: wherein his intention is not to lose vs, but to admonish vs: not to make vs stumble, but to holde vs from falling: not to poyson vs, but to purge vs: not to make vs slide into sin, but to call vs to amendment of behauiour: so that with this ful measure of bountie and mercy, he giues vs not onely that which we aske, but prepares vs moze to that which he woulde we shoulde demaund of him. This giues me occasion to smile, that our power being little, our selues so small a thing, and our knowledge so slender, yet we think, and construe to greate impoꝛtance all our enterprises, when indeede, that whiche in our opinion we holde moste profitable, takes sometimes a contrarie habite, and becomes most hurtfull and against vs.

By meanes whereof, the Lorde, with good reason vsing his wonderfull mercie, takes from vs those occasions wherewith wee
may

may offende him, and leades vs in the exercise of ſache things as ſtand vs in moſt ſtæde to ſerue him.

God deales in one ſorte with the Chriſtian ſinner, and in another maner with the iuſt man. To the ſinner, he pardoneth his offence: and from the iuſte, he takes away the occaſion to ſinne: by which we find that we ſtand moze deeply bound to him which ſuſfereth vs not to fall, than to him that lends vs his hand to help vs vp againe. Thus much (ſir) to inſtruct you in patience for the loſſe of ſo good a wife, whoſe death, if you lament in the office of a good husband, I haue not bin without my ſorrow, according to the dutie of a faithfull friend. And albeit there is no doubt but your wife was a right worthy member of a noble houſe, & therewithal plentifully replenished with euerie condition appertaining to the vertue & modeſtie of a woman: yet ſince in hir creation ſhe brought with hir a ſubiectiõ to death, I think your wiſedome is too great to make that grieuous to you, whyche nature ordaineth common to all: yea, if in your wife were fully filled a full example of all perfection, you can not in better ſorte expreſſe your zeale, than to ſuffer God to haue his will without grudge. And if you reioiced in the uſe of ſo happie a wyfe, whileſt ſhe liued, let your gladnes ſtill continue, for that you hope ſhe is now happily layed vp with God, with whome this is one familiar propertie, that the moze honeſt we be, the leſſe while we liue, for that being deare to him, he doth the ſoner drawe vs to his kingdome. I know that in your wife, God had expreſſed a ſpिरite of great meekeneſſe to you, made hir verie acceptable to hir neighbours, moſte pleaſible to youre parentes, and verie pitiful to the poore, wherein, by how much ſhe was agreeable to all, and hir nature hurtfull to none, by ſo muche haue you to hope that ſhe is alreadie in the way to hir ſalvation. But ſeeing ſhe is dead, and now ſette in the place of Gods eternall appointmēt, and ſince in the world is no power eſtſones to raiſe hir, lette hir reſt at quiet in the ioyes of paradise, and reſort you hereafter to a reſolute patience. Become immediatly carefull for your life, and leaue off thoſe funeralles, and vaine ceremonies for the dead, ſeeing that if God hath fulfilled his will to call hir to him, it is to place hir in his tabernacle of eternall reſte, & leauing youſtill in the world, he doth it to none other end but

That that is
common to
all, ought
not to be in-
tolerable
to one.

Golden Epistles.

to giue you time of amendment: For where God promiset h to ma long and many dayes, it is vnder this warning, that he giue order to the correction of his life. Many times haue I spoken, and written, that the sounde, and noise of bells, both not so much benefit the dead, as doe good to those that liue, for that as the deade being without sense are also boyde of nature and abilitie to resume remorse, to such as liue, the belles giue warning of death, as those that are already departed, yea they pronounce that we shall all be buried, as suche as are already put in the graue, and no more remembrance remaine of vs then of them that ly couered with clay: which makes me still maintaine that albeit to the deade the bells are merely vnprofitable, yet, to the liuing, they serue as Officers to summon vs to the fatall banquet. They call vs to prepare our reckning, and make vs ready to appere afoze our souereign Iudge to heare our sentence: yea they put vs in remembrance of y laste hour of our miserable life, and then as I know none that wish to haue bene Emperours, so there is no doubt but many desire to haue liued in the state of poore heardemen. But now to perswade with you somewhat familiarly, as well to witnesse my good will as to warne your frailtie, I wish you to vse patience, not so muche to expresse your grauitie, as to solace the heauinesse of your minde and by so much haue you neede to call for ayde to the spirit of god, by how much the greatnesse of your losse seemes to excede the resistance of flesh and blood. Consider that to render retribution is a duetie of nature, & a debt to be payed either in youth, in age, or at an other season, and that not in the hand or discretion of man but at the will and pleasure of God, with whome we haue no power to contend, for that the things which he commaundeth ought to bee accomplished, and what he willeth, is well worthe to be approued, being impossible that he should erate any vniust thing, he y is euen the selfe supreme and souereigne iustice. Be it (Say) that you are sorie for hir death, of whome can you demaunde your losse but of Death? against whome there is neither prescription or authoritie. It is he in whome is wrought the very effect and stipend of sinne, and it is he that is the fearefull tyrante ouer the world, who yeldes no compassion to the teares of men, takes no care of their sighs, scornes at their complaynts, and playeth with
their

their afflictions: he maketh greates kings fall as lowe as y^e ground: he diuides their principalities, destroyeth their heyres: he confoundes the proud & mighty, and raiseth the humble and make: he neither pardoneth old men, nor pitieth the yong sorte: yea he hath authoritie to call all men to reckoning, & no man to demaund reason of him. The Philosopher Secundus, being asked what death was, answered, that it was an eternall slæpe, a terror of riches, a desire of the miserable, a separation of friends, a voyage vncertaine, a robber of men, a beginning of those that liue, and an end of such as die. Death hath this absolute libertie, to enter where he list without knocking at the gate: condemne whome he wil and not heare them speake, and carrie away what he thinketh good, that euen the highest authoritie neither can nor dare resiste him. Yea, we muste be pleased with what he leaueth vs, and not complaine of that he taketh from vs.

What death is.

I doubt not but it is grievous to you to seele the wāt of so dāre a wife, as well for the solace of your person, as direction of youre house & children. But seeing the chaunces of mostall creatures, do shew that al men are subiect to the lawe of nature and fortune, and that of necessitie this muste passe so: put on a good countenance to the worlde, and shake off al inwarde heauinesse of minde, seeing the care of things impossible is vaine, and onely proper to weake men: you knowe also that in this troublesome life, many moe in number are the things that amaze vs, than those that hurt vs: and therfore to weep much, to sigh often, to sorrow allwayes to weare attyre of dule, to flæ societie of friendes, to retire into desolate and priuate places, and to delight in solitarinesse, be in one of youre grauitie matters moze to be rebuked, than affected, seeing that as too great ioy esttraungeth the harte into the like, so for the moste part, much perplexitie and sorrow bring with them the effecte of despaire. You ought not for the death of your wife to be negligent in the administration of your house, carelesse in the state of youre health, forgetful to entertaine the reputation of your honour, nor vnmindfull to direct your reuenuē. For the passions and afflictions of the hart, are neuer cured by new griefs but wyth the longnesse of time. One of the greatest trauels that we suffer in thys transitorie race, is, that sorrowes and griefes enter our harts so

Al men subiect to the lawe of nature and fortune.

Passions of the minde, cured with the longnes of time.

A ij.

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Golden Epistles.

dainely, whiche afterwards we cannot expel but with great time and vertue. And therfore we ought not at the first to vige a troubled minde to forget his paine, but rather to persuaide to moderate it: so that at the beginning the minde receiueth more comforte in debating the harme, than in speaking of the remedie: And therfore to a mind afflicted with greene sorowes, the beste remedie is to deferre them, vntil by time they be more apte to receiue consolation. For, as trade of time carryeth with it a lawe of forgetfulness of things past, so to a hart grieued, the true and soueraigne plasters, are temperance, time, and forgetfulness. So that neyther because you are a widower, nor in respecte of youre passions, you ought to commit to negligence the order of your person, nor the nourture of your children. For, as it is no small follie to weep for the dead, whom we cannot recouer, so it can not but be a great madnesse, to be carelesse of them that liue standing in the way of perdition. Withall, no man is bound to raise vpp againe such as are dead, but euerie one is tied to his dutie, to giue succors to the that liue. I hope (sir) you wil not lay afoze you the exāple of your neighbour and friend Roderico, who, as soone as he was in the state of a widower, put the coole on his head, eate not vpon any table cloth, was not serued in vessell of siluer, toke not his seate in a chaire, was not seene to looke out of a window, in two monethes did not wash his face, and in a whole yeare did not lie out of his clothes. All which I alleage to you, not so much to condemne Roderico for his follie past, as to put you in remembraunce, that to continue in ceremonies, is to offend God, and abuse the reputation of a wise man. One of the greatest benefites that a man can haue in this life, is, to be thankfull to Gods prouidence, and not to attribute any thing to fortune. The resolute man is neyther chaunged by a froward fortune, nor raised into presumption by any prosperitie, but standeth as a tree well rooted, whyche albeit is shaken with diuers windes, yet none can make it fall. And be it that aduersitie make some mutation in goodes, yet it ought not to exchange the person, and muche lesse haue power ouer our wisedome: For, the shamefastte and noble minde loseth muche more in losing that he deserueth, than if he losse all the goodes he was posselt of, by which reason, I accompt that no losse whiche falleth
in

in transitorie goods, if, with the losse of them, he recover his shame and wisdom. For, let not that man thinke he hath found little, which hath found himselfe. It is a thing to be wondered at, and no lesse worthe of slander, that for the losse of any thing of right meane value, men omit no paine nor cost to recover it: but if they lose shame patience, continencie, yea and conscience to, they wil neither be soie for losing them, nor make great search to recover them. Oh corrupt nature of ours, whiche careth not how we faile, and maketh lesse reckening to go the right way, and that whereby worse is, after we followed error and are fallen from a faire path into a foule puddle, we wil not only not search to find out selues, but (according to our fall wickednesse) we will not see nor confesse, that we are losse. All things in this worlde (what vile and base estimation soever they beare) we doe not onely make care and coste to keepe them, but also seek out others to ioine with vs for their safetie, except our selues: who not only forbear to watch and keepe our selues, but also we search others to helpe to lose vs. I wishe you for ende, that you give over to be private, and enter into the discharge of the requestes and legacies of your wise: so shall you expresse a dearer remembrance of hir, than wpth all the funerall ceremonies you can vse: for as she keepeth now no reckoning whether you are served vpon a Table, sitte in a chaire, or vse your other obseruations of dignitie, so you cannot yelde a more worthy recompence to the affection she bare you, than to visit hospitalles, and haunt sermons, and rather expresse the office of a true christian, than mourne in the habite of a pitifull Widower. From Logronio the xi. of August, 1, 2.

To Syr Peter Gyron banished into Oran,

comforting such as liue in exile



It is written in the wonderfull visions of the Prophet Daniel, that two Angels disputing afoze God, the one mainteined, that it was not meete to put the Hebrues in libertie, least they were couerted to the

A. iij.

Perli-

Golden Epistles.

Persians, and the other proued it necessarie to giue them licence,
 to the ende they might doe sacrifice, and reedifie the temple of Je-
 rusalem: by which may be inferred, that that which amongst the
 wicked is called stubburnnesse; with the good sorte is named
 zeale. Whis I write to bring into discourse the contents of your
 fathers letter and yours, in which I finde suche contrarietie, that
 it is hard to iudge whiche is greater; whether the sorowe of the
 father, or the constant mind of the son. The father expressed great
 heauinesse seeing his sonne sente into exile, vsing the nature of a
 pitifull father: and the sonne (according to the propertie of a no-
 ble minde) beareth this disgrace without grudge or grieve. If this
 banishment had pleased your father, and you likewise had decla-
 red signes of disdayne and despight, he had abused the dignitie of a
 father, and you trasgressed the lawe of a valiant knight: but seeing
 you both performe that which you ought, you haue no reason to
 distrust of that which you desire. For my parte, to satisfie the du-
 tie I owe to the one, and exercise the good will I beare to the o-
 ther, I thought it agreeing wpth your estate, and my profession, to
 recomment vnto you these particular instructions, whiche if you
 finde tedious to reade, you shall at leaste feele wholesome to ob-
 serue, especially containing points of consolation in your present
 banishment. Nowe is the time wherein you are to call into ex-
 ercise your auntient wisdom to gouerne you, your settled discre-
 tion to minister consolation, and your valiant mind to entertaine
 the reputation of your honour by some worthy enterpryse whych
 thre thyngs if you omit, you shall be holden a banished man euē
 in your owne city, where putting them in execution beeing cri-
 led, you shal be sure to increase the renowne of a valiant knight.
 It is a vertuous disposition to yeld compassion to the afflicted, but
 nature most of all doth challenge it of those, who prouing an estate
 of necessity, haue found comforte in others. And albeit one friend
 can owe no more to an other, than to remedy hys necessities, and
 comforte hys aduersities: yet the wordes of a friend doe gyue life
 to the hart of hys friend, if to the same be ioyned effectes of true
 affection. And as prosperitie and aduersitie haue such societie by
 kinde, that the one followeth the other, as the shadowe dothe the
 manne, so also such perplexities, as are fastened within a hart, are
 hardly

This bonde
 of a friend.

hardly forgotten but with the passions of an other mind that languisheth according to this example. At the death of the only sonne of Diomedes the Greeke (and vpon whome depended the possibilitie of succession) there appeared to this mourning father manye affections of many his noble friendes: amongst the preece of others that came to visite and comforte his sorowes, there resorted a poore woman demanding iustice. Diomedes seeing hir weap, and as it were accompany him in his sorowfull moodes, and his other friendes to deliuer onely reasons of consolation wythout teares, tolde them, that albeit his eares had receiued the impression of their wordes, yet none had made passage into hys hearte, but the sorowfull compassion of that simple woman, in whom I receiued (saith he) so much the more comforte, by how much I see hir heart suffereth the selfe same sorowe whiche by effect I feele. According to the conformance of this answer (sir) you may iudge my disposition, and therewithall take occasion to gyue faith to my wordes, and beleue the affection of my heart. For, by the faith of a friende, I sweare vnto you, that as I haue alwayes followed you wyth an vnfeyned zeale, so your present misfortune standeth in suche compassion with me, that if to my want were ioyned wealth, and with my will were matched convenient libertie, you should know, that though I am innocent of your fault, yet I would be partner of your paine: or if, as you stande in full power to distribute and dispose your goods, you hadde also the facultie to impart your perplexities, the worlde shoulde be iudge whether my friendship stretch to affecte your goodes, or to communicate wyth your fortune and calamitie. And as I can not but confesse, that you haue alwayes exprested towarde me one perpetuall nobilitie and bountie of minde, so I hope you will not denye but I haue retributed that recompence whiche belongeth to the power of so poore a friend. But as I knowe you haue this propertie in nature, to keepe in continuall memorie the good turnes you receiue of others: so, if I forget the benefites which you haue bestowed of me, lette my profession suffer indignitie, by the whiche I holde the countenance of my reputation: and so will I wade no further in protestation, since greate offers are vled amongst straungers, and good dedes ought to be familiar with true mean-

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ning friends. I know this banishment may bræde you some conceit by the opinion which the Courte maye haue of you, and I doubt not but as muche the ioye of your enemies wylł despyght you, as the displeasure of your friendes will grieue you, for that (in a chance of calamitie) moste men are more sozie for that their enemies can say, than for the martyrdome they indure. Plutarch in his Apophthegmætes reciteth of a famous capitaine, and louer of the *Lacedemonians*, to whome a certayne Reader of the *Atheniens* making his complaint, that the men at armes, in his campe reproched them of *Athens*, answered, that as the thing that is well kepte is hardly losse, and that nothing prouoketh the thæse sooner than negligence, so if the *Atheniens* hadde tyed care and circumspection to their wordes and actions, they had neyther fallen into the mouthes of the *Lacedemonians*, nor feared their malice. Iob sayeth: *Factus sum mihi-met-ipsi gravis*, meanyng, that the misaduentures and disgraces whiche happen to vs for the moste parte, our selues doe searche them. For as the power of fortune is to doe more harme in one houre than good in many hundreth yeares, so when the chaunge falleth, it blindeth our eyes, that we can not discerne it, and bindeth our handes that we cannot helpe it, making vs instruments even againste our selues in the execution of our proper mishap. But for your part (sir) if you had either followed my direction, or ioynd your selfe to the aduise of the Constable your deare vncle, the ignorance and rashnesse of your hoat youth, hadde not carried you thus farre to your owne raine: yea, you had preuented that which nowe with paine you suffer. The vengeance whiche you sought to take, ought not to be grounded vpon so small occasion, seeing oftentimes reason demaundes execution of a thing, which tyme wylł not suffer to be done, by whyche meanes are spoyled manye particular causes, not for that they were not iuste, but bicause they were not followed in season. For as conuenient is the obseruation of time and place to prosecute a businesse, as in due season to throwe the sæde into the earth, to the ende to haue a good haruest. Therefore in youre quarrel or pretence of action to the Dukedome of *Medina Sidonia*, muche better had it become the vertue of a Noble Gentleman, and farre more suretis to youre title,

Men are
the instru-
ments of
their own
mishappes.

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title, to haue demaunded it in Parliament by iustice, than to re-
commend your selfe to the Bishoppe of *Camore*. I haue often told
you that tyrantes committe theyr triall to Armes, and the iuste
sorte referre their causes to the arbitrement of the lawes: Euen
so, when I sawe you ioyne your selfe to that good Bishoppe, I
felt greate coniecture of the euill successe of your cause, in whiche
I doubted not but he woulde raise occasion to vndoe you, that erst
made no conscience to put in perill the whole realme. Disobay the
King, deceiue his confederates, and dissemble euen wyth his own
opinion. For where in one man doe maete incertaintie of affecti-
on, and malice of nature, there is no other hope in that man, than
distrust, periuarie, words, and reuenge. I put you in remembrance
of all these, moze to reprehend you than to comforte you, & withal
to reduce to your knowledge, that if you suffer any present affli-
ction, thinke it is for no offence presently committed, but for the
fault that then you did. For as euery offence hath his punishmēt,
so God being bound to no time, vseth to visit our old insolencies,
euen when we account our selues moste innocent. Moze easie it
is to your wise friendes, to suffer your banishment obeying the
Prince, than to see you Duke of *Medina*, with the displeasurs of
his Maiestie. And farre better shall you expresse that which is lo-
ked for of you, if simply you attribute to the infirmity of your dis-
cretion, that whiche in good equitie can not but carry the very na-
ture and habite of a greate fault. Oh how wel both it become the
reputation of a valiant knight to deserue to be holden gracious
in the sight of his Prince, and with good & true seruices to enter-
taine the estate and saue he hath of him, expressing alwayes this
true effecte and example of readie obedience, that if either in the
Court, the kingdome or any dominion of the Prince, there moue
any faction, trouble, quarrell, tumult, or mutinie: he may wyth
libertie be heard speake, & giue occasion to be employed: but not of
himselfe to practise secreete confederacie, nor yet without authoritie
to intrude himselfe into the counsel, or managing of affaires of e-
state. For the businesse of kingdomes containe in the many secret
difficulties, moze dangerous to be reformed, than easie to wælde,
whych we see daily in sundry common weales euil gouerned, and
woyse reformed, so; & so; the most part, the popular sort is redy to
reuoit,

Tyrants
vseth
all by
armes, but
the iust sort
referre their
causes to the
arbitrē
of the laws.

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For bani-
shed men.

renolt, and very hard to be appeased. Greate payne had Catiline to refozm *Rome*, Socrates *Athens*, Ptolome *Pentapolis*, Prometheus *Egypt*, and Plato the *Sicilians*: but in the ende of all these enterprises, where some of these noble men escayed death, the rest suffered banishment, and their common weales notwithstanding in more broile than before. But now to the matter of your exile, and the remedies proper to men in our fortune. In which if I satisfie not your passion, I doubt not but the law of our friendship wil lead you to iudge well of my reasons, assuring you that I had rather succour you than comfozte you. Weighing (sir) with your present condition beeyng banished in *Afrike*, the consideration that you are of the free countrey of *Spaine*, I doubt not but the remembraunce of the pleasures you haue passed in *Spaine*, wil make thys exchaunge more painefull to you beeyng nowe restrayned in *Afrike*, for the loue of our countrey is so naturall to vs, and wee so partiall in our proper affection, that albeit fortune make vs forsake our natieue countrey, yet nature wil not suffer vs to forget it: yea, so greate a vehemencie hath the loue whiche moste men beare to their naturall climates, that they will rather endure any iniurie against their persons, than to beare their countries euil spoken of, the same parcialitie proceeding for that men do not acknowledge that they are of the earth, liue in the earth, and must returne to the earth: when there is nothing belonging vnto them, but that which they carry with them to their graue. Socrates instructed his disciples not to attribute to themselves any particular place or countrey: for (saith he) albeit the eternall prouidence giues vs peculiar meanes to cloath vs, and priuate houses to defend the iniury and passions of the ayre, yet nature hath left to vs al in common the vniuersall earth, which since, by the ambition of men hath bene diuided into cantels. Plutarch in his booke of exile, reporteth that Hercules the Theban being asked by the Sidonians of what countrey he was, answered, I am neither of *Thebes*, *Athens*, nor *Lycaonia*, but naturall of the whole coutry of *Greece*. Socrates seemeth to be of the same opinio to the great Sacrificas for Archytas, by whom being asked of what place he was, he answered that he was borne in the world, & a naturall heyre of all the world. Plutarch reherseth also that in the Ile of *Cobde* in *Greece*,
was

was a linage of Grecians called Agites, descended of that notable Greeke Captaine called Agis the good. Amongst these Agites this law was specially obserued, that none durst call him selfe natural of the Ile, vnlesse he had done some valiant act, meaning that it is the country that ought to be commended for bringing forth such men and not the people to be praysed to be either of this or that Region. To that (Syr) for my parte, ioyning my selfe to the manner of these Iland men, me think I haue greater reason to esteeme you a valiant African, than a vertuous Spanith knight, seeing that the honour which you lost in Spaine, you haue recovered in Africk, yea, if you confer the vanities which you vsed in Spaine, wyth the exercise you follow now in Africk you shall finde that banishment better than ease, doth leade you to iudge of the present value and estimation of time, yea, it will minister this discretion to you, & if you feele any passion it will appere to you more by opinion than by reason. In Spayne you were noted to be a painefull follower of the pleasures of the fildes, a pleasant deuiler with Ladies, a sweet companion at sumptuous banquets, giuen ouer to the disorders of the Court, to gae to bed at midnight & rise at mid day, al which though they be delights of a young Courtier, yet they are no exercises of a valiant knight, for the titles and vertuous renownes of our Ancestors, were not gotten by enterprises of hauking & hunting, but with seruing their kings in the daungers of warres. The exercise which we are tolde you follow now in Orane, as to be stirring earely, to breake your fast standing and whilest your armour is in laceing, to be readie with the foremost to distresse the Turkes to acquaint your eare with the musick of the Trompet, to be painfull to march, and discret to follow, and in all enterprises to giue example of courage to your souldiers, out of these differences you may gather, whether it is more agreeable to your renowne, and profitable to your estate, to be esteemed a valiaunte Captaine, or an amorous Courtier. Besides, in Spaine you coulde but recite the deedes of others, and now the whole Courte is in discourse of the daungers you escape. Writers of histories are tied to the acts of particuler men, and to expresse in their Chronicles that in such a time such a thing was done in such a season such an enterprize was perfozmed: but it belongs to the honour of a good knight,

Happy is
the punish-
ment by the
which wee
passe into
greater per-
fection.

knight, not onely to say, I was a leader in such a war, but also to beare vpon his body the signes of the perils he had passe. So that in consideration of the successe of this banishment, I see not but that it is a fortune necessary, and an estate working gloꝝy to your house, and giues no occasion of grieſe to your person: for righte blessed is that martyrdome, by whose paines we are passed into greater perfection. The Consul Siluanus holding parte wyth the Sillans, in full Senate reproched Marius scornefully, that he was too ambitious of honor, being so base of linage: To whom Marius answered, I confesse (saith he) that thou art more aunciently descended than I: euen so I cannot deny but that I am better mā than thou, because, where thy house is not furnished but wyth painted armozies which thou haſte inherited of thy auncestours, thou mayest see in mine many streaming ensignes whiche I haue wonne with the perill of my life. When thinke your selfe happy, for that in *Spaine*, you were no better than Siluanus, but in *Africke* you are equall in prowesse with Marius, with whom, in place of painted armozies wherewith you were wonte to hang your house in *Spaine*, you shall now returne, not onely with ensignes besprent with bloud, but also expꝛessing your triumphes ouer the common enimie of christian faith. There hath bene in the ages past many great personages, who no lesse desirous of renowne, than willing to winne it by vertue, did not onely not grudge whē they were banished by authoritie, but also of themselues and for themselues made a willing choice of exile, following the opinion and example of the right worthy Captaine Alcibiades, who in his familiar deuice was wont to say, that fewe men in their naturalitic or simple nature become vertuous: but the most sorte following the passions of nature, slide into many vices, according to the experience of a tree farre brought and newe replanted, which bringeth forth fruite of farre more swēte and pretious taste than others. euen so more gloꝝie and renowne doe followe noble men and mindes resolute in strange and farre regions, than in their proper naturall countries: yea. they had rather die poꝛe aboad, than returne home loaden with wealth, and light wyth honour. Was not king Pirrus borne in a village of *Athens*, and afterwards was called Pyrrhus the Epyrote, for that he vanquished
that

that people? Was not the good Scipio bred bp in a towne of *Campania*, to whome after was added the surname of Africanus, as subduing those regions? Octavius Augustus was nourished in a village of *Behetre*, and after was raised to the title of Octavius Germanicus, because he triumphed ouer the Almaines. And the good Titus was founde in a poore village of *Campania*, and after was called Titus Palestinus for preuailing ouer the Palestinnes. Infinite is the number of such as haue sought fame in soveraigne regions, but more immortall and perpetuall is the memorie of the enterprises, whiche by the greatnesse of their courage they atchieued. For, as no fortune can resist him to whome nature hath giuen magnanimitie of minde: so whether at home or abroad, who is more wretched than he that esteemes himselfe unhappy by the reputation of his courage? Many and many were the personages in the world past, who springing of base and darke place, of small renowne, and lesse wealth, haue wyth the fortune of theyr banishment in countreyes farre remoued, euolted their linage, broughte honour to their countreyes, reputation to their posteritie, and riches to themselves. The valiant Themistocles, & great captain Phalaris, wyth great ignominy to theyr persons, and spoyle of theyr goods, were banished out of *Athens*, and chaced out of all *Greece*: yet suche equitie of minde followed theyr iuste vertues, that by the grace and fauour of King Ptolome in *Alexandria*, they returned home with no lesse fame & honour to their countrey, than laden wyth riches to the encrease of theyr familie: yea, Themistocles bled oftentimes to say familiarly to his wyfe & chyldren, *Perieramus omnino nisi perissemus* as who should say, if they had not bin passed into the perplexities of banishment, they had vtterly perished. For fortune oftentimes plateth wyth banished men, as doth a distiller of waters with his glasses or erthen pots, whō he takes down, not to breake or leaue them, but to fill them and set them vp. With this example, we may apply the misfortune of Ioseph the sonne of Iacob, in whose fall was wrought the meane to the Israelites, that after wardes he was made Lorde ouer the whole countrey of *Egipt*, & helper of the Hebrues. That which sometimes seemeth to a manne heauie and sorrowfull, becometh oftentimes the meane of his comfort and gladnes, and the same that in the

No fortune
can resist
him to whō
nature hath
giuen magnanimitie
of minde.

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the beginning seemeth to worke his disgrace, breeds at the last the very effect of his desired fortune: eue as to him that thinketh himselfe in the right path, it happeneth that he is out of the way, as others supposing themselves to be misse-led and gone astray, are notwithstanding in the high way to their felicitie. Camilla for a disgrace hapning to him in *Rome*, was banished into *Cāpania*, wher his vertues and seruice in the warres of that countrey succeeded so happily with him, that he returned to *Rome*, not as an offē or, but in great triumph as an Emperour. The iuste and noble Emperour Traian, bring out of *Italie*, and withdraue to the Citie of *Agrippina*, was adopted heire of the Empire there by the Emperour Nerva, his vnckle, who communicated with him the ensignes of the Imperiall estate: by which change and chaunce of fortune, Traian would say to his familiars, that the banishmēt which Domitian iudged him to, was his onely solicitour to the Empire. Al these histories together with the examples aswel of such as chose banishment to winne true renowne, as of others that fell into exile by fault and sentence, I haue reduced (sir) to your memorie, to the end that by their wisdom you should take comforte; and in their courage solow the example of their enterprises. For, as the doings of others are but warnings to vs to direct wel our estates: so it cannot be but vaine, to represent vnto you the banishmentes they suffered, if you expresse not in your fortune the resolute mind which led them to the throne of their estimation. If you shewe the true value and constancie of mind duly appertaining to a christiā knight, you may with the opportunitie of the wars now against the Turke, deserue to returne to *Spaine* with as greate honour as Camilla was receiued into *Rome*. It behoueth you in that warre of *Afrike*, to be liberall, secrete, couragious, and modest, so shall all such as are sozie for the fault you haue made here, be recompenced with gladnesse in the effectes of your worthe behauiour there. Say with Diogenes that as they banished you out of *Spaine*, so you banish them out of *Afrike* so shal they in short time return to compassion for that they make you to suffer, and you in the meane while beare with patience the iniurie you suppose is done to you. For men not accustomed to aduersitie haue leasse rule ouer their passions, and such as neuer felte but prosperitie, can litle iudge

Men not accustomed to aduersitie, haue leasse rule ouer their passions.

Judge of the worthinesse of patience. I praye you vse this mode in the Letters you write hither, that neyther the King maye perceiue that you are grieued with his sentence, nor your enemies vnderstand your enill liking to that place: For no lesse wil they reioice to heare you abhorred there, than they were ready to procure your banishment from your friends and countrie here,

Such (Sir) as suffer exile, haue many notable priuiledges, which being incident to men, in that estate, it is necessarie you knowe some, to the end you may take benefite of the best. It is a prerogative to men exiled, that they stande in grace of pity wyth euery one, and seldome malice of anye, for that in common experience men most naturally beare grudge to such as line in wealth, and pitie such as are far remoued from their consorte. Banished men during the time of their restraint are exempted from all importunities of such as borrow money, since no man needes to doubt but that man exiled hath for the most part, want of money, & plentie of perplexities. Such as are banished haue libertie to borrow of others without either blushing or blot of conscience, for that their goodes are confiscate, & they far from the succor of their friendes, they are the men that moste stand in neede of the compassion of the world. It is suffered to the banished man, to write into his countrey that he is sicke, when he enioyeth health: that he is in sorow for his house, though he feele no remembraunce thereof: and that he is poore, when he hath full plentie: and all to the ende the Prince shoulde the sooner pardon hys fault, and hys friends the more readily succour his wants.

Priviledges
of banished
men.

The banished man, without breach of honour, may be suffered to breake promise, being sufficient to acknowledge the fauours done to him, and to offer, when he is restored, recompence according to the bounty of a gentleman. The banished manne (without stain to his honour) hath libertie to line in meane countenance, for that amongst good men his case is pitied, and wyth the wise no other port expected than according to the rate and measure of his fortune.

The banished man is not subiect to the terrours of lawe and iustice, for that being so farre from hys aduersaries, he may sleepe without feare, and rise without care: he is free from the variable

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customs and complexions of hys wife, from þe griefe of the cruel demeanour of his children, and from the distrust of hys seruantes, the same being such a comforte peculiar onely to exiles, that many would be glad to exchange theyr free conditiõ, for the felicities of such banishment. The banished man standeth exempt from all imposts and tributes, as in whose estate is sufficient griefe without necessitie of other affliction.

The banished man being farre from hys friendes, liueth not in care of their calamities, and is not called to be a partener of theyr quarrels, whych libertie many seeke for, who answere for many folloiw many, and spend much of many, not of franke will, but to perfoyme the duetie they haue professed. Many more are the prerogatiues which you maye boldly chalenge and enioy in *Afrike*, and we by no right can demaunde in *Spaine*. And yet I doubt not, but more deere should be to you the kings pardon to return home, than all these godly priuiledges, whyche to your greate comforte you enioy in *Afrike*. For the puddle water in our owne country, carrieth a more sweete taste, than the most pleasant fountaine in any forraine region. Let thys be your solace for the time, to serue and hope in God, to the ende he may leade the mind of the pynce to consent to your libertie, wherein ther shal want no furtherace, which either the autoritie of your friends, or my continual counsell may bring to passe.

To Don Frederique of Portugal, Archebishop of

Saragoce, and Viceroy of *Catheliogne*: wherein the Au-

thour recommends to him a Letter of

the Emperour M. Aurelius.



In the selfe same yeare, wherein the Prophet Ieremie bewailed in *Ierusalem* the captiuitie of his people led into *Babylon*, reigned in *Bythimia* the cruell King Dracon, a man of deepe policie in affaires of estate, and no lesse valiant to heare and resist the rigoures of fortune, but withal so seuerer in hys commaundements, that it may be doubted whether the lawes hee instituted, contained more crueltie to his subiects, than commoditie to hys king-

domes,

Domes. For amongst other statutes or straight politiquen, he ordained this lawe, that one neighbour hauyng receiued of another anye good turne, and after wardes was founde vnthankfull eyther to requite or confesse it, such a one was punished wyth death. For, as this is a propertie annexed to the good nature, to forgette the benefites he doth hymselfe, and keepe in continuall memorie, the graces he hath receyued of others: so to adde impunitie to ingratitude, is to corrupt the world, euen as in other offences, to restraine iustice, is to support sinne and suffer insolencie, whiche is the greatestt errour that can happen in gouernement. This I say (sir) to put my selfe in remembraunce of the manifold benefites I haue receyued by you, wherevnto, hauing no power of recompence, at leaste I shoulde forbear to acknowledge them; I can not auoide the merite of Dracons lawe. For there can be no such iniurie offered to a free minde, and a bashfull face, than to be called vnthankfull, since suche reproches sincke moste deeply into the reputation of honour: so that, though my power be small, and my possibilitie lesse, yet I will so honour the remembrance of your benefites, that in my will shall be founde no blame of ingratitude, nor in my life, any suspicion of vnhoneest friendship.

A lawe to
punishe vn-
thankfulness
by death.

At our laste being together, you made me sweare of graunte to that you demaunded, without eyther libertie of excuse, or being made priuie to what you woulde aske, wherein, as your Lordship was somewhat too importunate, so I was not inough discrete: for that greater is the reason to examine a demaund, than to consent to fulfill it. But touching your request, to pen for you some letters of M. Aurelius. I know not howe I shall satisfie your desire, vnlesse you resorte your demaunde: for that of hys morall writings, I haue none but either those which are already published, or such as he left vnperfected: & for others, which, in the rage of hys youth, he wrote to his amorous friends, as I haue already published some by the persuations of my priuat friends: so, albeit at that time their importunities enforced my will, yet it behoueth me now not to abuse the dutie of my professiō, wherin, as wel by the habite of religion, as my facultie of a diuine, I craue to be excused from writing such vanities, since, besides the offence to my graui-

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tie, the example cannot but bring hurt to the chaste minds of yong Princes and great Ladies. But because as neare as I can, I will be thankfull to your request, and leaue you satisfied of my good meaning: I haue sent you the translation of one of his letters, wherein you may iudge with what fidelitie he entertained his friendes, since hee bled such charitie and compassion to his enemies.

M. Aurelius
to Popilion
capitaine of
the Parthies

God giueth
victories
not to suche
as fight
most, but
where hee
loneth best.

Fortune is
most varia-
ble in the a-
ction of
warre.

I can not deny the glorie I haue obtained by this battell, and much lesse hide the perplexitie I feele for thy present misfortune: for noble mindes are bounde to shewe no lesse compassion to such as are subdued, than to expresse ioy and gladnesse with those that are victors. Thou (being chiefe of the *Parthies*) diddest shew great courage to resiste, and in me the leader of the *Romaines* was found no want of force to fight, notwithstanding, though thou loste the battell, and I remaine possessed of the victorie, yet as I knowe thou wilt not acknowledge this chaunce to happen by any wante of stomacke in thee, so, it belongeth to my grauitie, not to attribute it altogether to the greatnesse of my vertue, since God dothe alwayes minister victories, not to suche as do their dueties best, but to those that he loneth moste: for the effect of al things depending vpon God, man can haue no power to commaund the destinie of a battell, seeing he is not able to stay the course of the least planet in heauen. Darius againste Alexander, Pompeius againste Cæsar, and Hannibal againste Scipio, had aboue al equalitie, far greater armies than their enemies: by which thou haste reason to conclude wyth me, that againste the anger of the soueraigne God, can not preuaile most huge and mightie hostes. I meruaile (*Popilion*) that being great in birth, and valiant of stomacke, wealthie in goodes, and mightie in estate and dignitie, why thou bearest wyth such sorrow the losse of this battell, seeing that in no worldly thing fortune is more vncertaine and variable, than in the action of war. It is told me thou withdrawest to solitarie corners, and seekest out shadie places, thou eschewest the conuersation of men, and complaineest of the Gods, whych extreme perplexities since thou werste not wont to suffer in others, muche lesse oughtest thou to giue place to them in thy selfe: for that the valiant man loseth no reputation for that fortune faileth him, but is the

the lesse esteemed if he wante discretion to beare hir mutabilitie. To assemble great armies is the office of Princes, to leuie huge treasures belongeth to soneraigne magistrates, to strike the enimie is the part of a couragious captaine, but to suffer infirmities, and dissemble mishaps, is a propertie duely annered to noble and resolute mindes. So that one of the greatestt vertues that worldly men can expresse in their common behauiour, of thys life, is, neyther to rise proud by prosperitie, nor fall into dispaire in aduersitie. For, fortune hauing a free wil to come and goe when she list, the wise man ought not to be sozie to lose hir, nor reioice to holde hir. Such as in their miserie shewe heauie countenance, doe well proue, that they made accompt to be alwaies in prosperitie, which is a great follie to thinke, and no lesse simplicitie to hope for: seeing the giftes, & graces of fortune haue no other thing more certaine in them, than to be (for the most parte) in al things most vncertain, according to the successe of that day, wherin thou gauest me battel: for there I orderedst thy cap according to a wise capitaine, madest choice of the place in great policie, and tookest I aduantage of the sunne, as a leader of long experience: in consideration of whiche things thou hast cause to complaine against thy fortune which fauoured not thy vertue, and not to blame thy discretion wherein can be found no error. Consider, that in wise and grane men, it is an office, that if they cannot do that they will, at least they yeld to him, & are content wpyth that they may. And as the vertuous & valiant mind ought not to græue for not obtaining that which he would, but because he desired that whiche he ought not: so Popilion, I wish thee to take hæde, that the honoz which so many times thou hast won with the hazard of thy valiant persõ in enterprises of war, be not lost at this present for want of bearing wealthie fortune, assuring thee, that he beareth his misery that hideth it most. And as of all voluble things there is nothyng more light than renown, so in cases of war & hazard, it is not inough for the valiant man to doe what he may, but also he is bounde to attempt nothing but what he ought: for as well the consideration, as execution of a fact, belongeth duly to a discrete mind. I heare thou wanderest here and there in great vncertaintie of mind, fearing, that if thou be taken of my souldiours, thou shalt be euil in-

Fortune
hath a free
wil to come
and goe
when she
liste.

Hee beareth
his miserie
best that
hideth it
moste.

Golden Epistles.

treated of me, which if no man haue told thee, it is against reason thou believe it of thy selfe, because to vs Princes of Rome it is familiar to shewe our liberalitie to suche as yelde to vs, and with others that are our prisoners to communicate in great clemencie. We raise armies againste campes prondly furnished, and cities strongly walled: but to captaines in thy condition, we holde it more honorable to minister comforte, than to adde encrease of affliction. For, as it sufficeth the valiant captaine to fight againste the aduersarie that resisteth hym, and dissemble wyth hym that flieth, so the wiseman ought to require no more of his enemy, than that he acknowledge that he standeth in feare of hym. For, if hee feare him, it is a good argument that he may be in suretie of hym, because to daunted & timorous hearts, is seldome lesse courage to renewe an enterpryse: and therefore a man taketh a greater reuenge when he putteth his enimie to flight, than if he take hys life from him. For the sworde dispatcheth a man in a day, but fear & remorse torment the minde continually: & better were it to suffer wythout feare that whych we expect in grieve and sorrow, than by feare, to be alwaies in martyrdom. It is right terrible to flesh and bloud to dye of a sword, but to be in perpetuall sorrowe and disquietnesse of minde, is the very fury and torments of hell.

It is better
to suffer
that we fear
than by fear
to be always
in martyr-
dome.

If thou eschewest my presence in feare, that I will not vse pity to thee, thou art abused in the opinion of my disposition, and doest wrong to the reputation and experience of my actions past. For, I neuer refused to shewe mercie to hym that asked it, and muche lesse deceyued the expectation of hym that put hys truste in me.

The doubt and feare that thus trauaile thy mynd, ought not to be so much of my person, as of the custome of Fortune, who useth not to vnlose her sharpe arrowes wyth better will agaynst any, than suche as thynke to be in mooste securitie of her, her nature beeing such as not to meddle wyth those that shee findeth prepared to the better to assure them, but followeth the fearefull and negligent, to the ende to deceyue them: yea, she preuaileth even ouer the counsellers & actions of men, and beeing exempte to make reckonyng to anye, her prerogative is to requyre accompt of all men. I assure thee, Popilion, that more doe I feare the reuolution

of Fortune at this houre, than I doubted her afore the battell. For she delighteth not so muche to keepe vnder the vanquished, as to bide & checke the victors: & worse doth she meane when she smil-
leth the fairest, then when she frowneth moste. But now to speak
on thy behalfe, I tell thee, that without danger thou maist resort
to my presence, since in thy estate is no cause of suspition, and in
my heart no malice to thy person. For indeed that can not bee cal-
led true victorie, which bringeth not with it some clemencie: and
therefore he cannot be named victorious, in whome resteth intent
of rigor and crueltie. For Alexander, Iulius Augustus, Titus, and
Traianus, won more renowne by the clemencie they vsed to their
enimyes, than by all the victories they obtayned in straunge re-
gions. To obtaine a victory is a thyng naturall and humane, but
to geue pardon and life, is the gyft and blessing of God, by which
it commeth to passe, that men esteeme not so much the greatnesse
of the immortall God for the punishmentes he doeth, as for the
mercy he vseth: notwithstanding, as I can not denye but that
greate is the valne and estimation whych we Romaine Princes
make of a victory won by battell, so also, I assure thee, we holde it
more honourable to pardon such as offende vs, than to chastice
those that resiste our power. Wherefore, if thou flee from my pre-
sence as fearyng the iustice whiche I haue executed vpon
the *Romaines*, thou oughtest to take securitie and courage even in
that which maketh thee iealous and doubtfull. For so much grea-
ter ought to be the clemencie, by howe muche the offendour is in
fault: and therefore as there is no offence whiche can not be ey-
ther forgiven or sanored, so right worthily may that pardon be
called honourable & famous, whych is gyuen to an iniury malici-
ous & manifest: since al other comon & lyght wrongs, with grea-
ter reason we may say we dissemble them, than y^e we pardon the.

The thyng that moste draweth me to enter friendshippe with
thee, is, for that in our lasse capitulations and truce, thou perfor-
medst al that was concluded for the peace, and yet in the battell,
expressedst the parts of a valiant Captayne: the same gyuing me
cause to belæue, that as in the wars I found thee a iuste enemy, so
in tyme of peace thou wouldest proue an assured friend. Alexan-
der neuer repented y^e pardon he gaue to Diomedes the tirant, nor

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That is a
franke gift
whiche
is giuen
without re-
spect.

M. Anton & saio: he shewed to & great orator Cic. neither shal I haue cause (I hope) to forethink & respite I giue to thy life. For & noble minde, albeit he may haue occasion to be sorie for the vnthankefulnesse of hys friend, yet hath he no licence to repent him of the good turnes he doth for hym. And therefore in the case of liberality, or clemencie, by howe muche the person is vnworthie that receiue the benefite, by so much more is he to be commended that bestoweth it. For, that only may be said to be giuen, whē he that giueth giues without respecte. So that, he that giueth in hope of recompence, deserueth not to be called liberall, but to pretend vsurie. Thou knowest well, that in the time of the battell, & when the encounter was most hote, I offered thee nothing worthy of reproch: euen so thou haste now to iudge, that if in the furie of war thou foundest me faithfull & mercifull, I haue now no reason to exercise rigor, holding thee within the precinct of my house. So that, if thou sawest mercie in me at the instant when thy handes were busie to spill my bloud, thinke not that my clemencie shall faile thee, calling thee to the communion and felowshippe of my table. The prisoners of thy campe can assure thee of my dealing, amongst whom, the hurt are cured at my charges, and the dead buried according to & place of souldiours, wherein, if I exercise this care vpon suche as sought to spoile me, thinke there is farre greater plentie of grace to thee that comest to serue me. And so leauing thee in the handes of thine owne counsell, I wishe thee those felicities whych thy honozable heart desireth.

To the Duke of Alua, containing an exposition of a text of the Apollle, with other Antiquities.



Wgyther wpyth youre Letter (righte excellent Duke) I haue receyued your particular remembrance, wherein albeit I finde it straunge, that you shoulde require aduise of me, you, on whome the mightie Caesar reposes moste for the Counsel of his affaires: yet, since it pleaseth you thus to exercise

ercise your humilitie, and publishe science in me, it belongeth to my duetie rather to putte my imperfection to your iudgement thā to leaue your desire vnsatisfied. And albeit, in the consideration of your demaunde, I finde some perplexitie to answere, for that your honour seemeth to sollicite me in one thing, and your conscience in an other: yet, I hope so to debate your difficulties: that in your conscience shall remaine no doubt, nor your reputation bee subiect to staine or burthen. For swete is the felicitie of that mind whose desires are innocent, and the works of theyr life iust. A knight of the Gentiles carelesse of the health of hys soule, delighteth more in the greatnesse and antiquitie of his race, than in the vertue whereof his nobilitie toke beginning, whych is found contrarie in the inclination and action of the true christiā knight. For he esteemeth true nobilitie to depend of vertue, and all other thyngs to be of fortune. And therefore, to be a good knight, and a true Christian, accorde well together in the lawe of Iesus Christ: because to the good and true knight it belongeth to vse courage in the effecte of warre, to be iuste in his worde, liberall of hys purse, patient in aduersities, and to shewe clemencie where he hathe cause and power of reuenge: all which are expressely commaunded in the diuine lawe, and are the most true and glyttering ensignes of a good christian knight.

That man is happy, that hath good desires.

True nobilitie dependeth of vertue, and all other thyngs are of Fortune.

Saint Paule ministreth thys aduise to hys disciple Timothe, *Labora ut bonus miles*, willing hym to trauaile as a good knight, not in the toyles of a labourer, fisher, miller, or mariner, but in the laboures of a good christian knight, in whome it is to be esteemed no lesse greatnesse of hart to resist vices, than to fight against enemies. And where he biddeth him bring forth the exercise of a good knight, he meaneth that the godnesse of a Christian knight consisteth not in pompe & great magnificence, but in the tranquillitie and innocencie of a good conscience. For he that walloweth in the wealth of Croesus, and sleepeth not in the bosome and quietnesse of Abraham, holdeth no more than if he were Lord of a godly vessell replenished wyth corrupt and poysoned liquour. To haue rich tapistrie, & massiue plate, many great horses, with other preparations to sportes and pleasures, be thyngs rather to keepe our names in honoꝝ, than to minister safetie to our soules: and yet as

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I can not deny them to be instruments to entertaine our reputation, so, wythall I can not allow that they are the very effects of our damnation. For we are bound to seeke God in humilitie and faith, and not to limitt his power, nor debate what he oughte to determine of our estate. And as I must confesse, that (for the further value and reputation of Knightes and greate Lordes) their houses are replenished, wyth children and youth of righte honest sort: so I coulde wishe, that in their negligent or corrupt education, were suffered no libertie to insolencie or vice, whyche then they best performe, when in theselues is expressed no example of lewd behauiour. For in the vertue of the Maister is wrought the effecte and example of reformation in the seruant, euen as the temperance of the father is much to instructe hys sonne in hys due humilitie and obedience: So that who suffereth in his seruant lies, swearing, blasphemie, whooredomes, or other dissolute or ydle disposition, albeit he be a knight, yet he can not worthily be called a good knight: for that the houses of good knights ought to bee as schooles of instruction to youth, and not Hauens to professe epicuritie. He that keepeth many haukes and houndes, prepareth riche and costly banquets, holdeth a house of generall repaire, and receyueth the vnchristie and banished. And he that followeth the delightes of the world, and forgetteth hys office to God, suche a one in hys behauiour beareth reason to be called a gentle knight, for that to such belong those ornaments and ensignes, moze than to gentlemenne following Christianitie. But according to the aduise of the Apostle, suche a one aspireth to be a good knight, who striveth to be a good christian, for that by the lawe of Iesus Christ, none hath libertie to exercise any vice.

Touching the other doubt in your letter, I know not how to gyue you any generall rule that hath bene obserued in all regions, for that, according to the diuersitie of nations, men haue alwayes vsed difference of customes. Lycurgus the Lawe reader of the Lacedemonians, helde such in most honour, whose beards were most hoary, and heads most white wyth age. Prometheus ordainned, amongst the Egyptians, that to the people of iustice was transferred most honoꝝ. And king Dridanius was wonte to saye to the Sycilians, that to the priests of the temple moste honour was due.

Bryas

Much is in
the father,
to make hys
children re-
formed.

The lawe of
Christ gy-
ueth no li-
bertie to do
euill.

Bryas King of the *Argines*, gaue most honoꝝ to the Philosophers that read in scholes. Numa Pompilius amongst the *Romaines*, was of opinion, that he was woꝛthy of most reputation, to whom had happened the victorie of any famous battel. But Anaxarchus ordayned amongst the *Phenicians*, that in a common weale suche shoulde be moſte honoured, who, in time of peace, entertayned the ſtate in moſte tranquillitie, & in the furie of warre, were found wiſe and valiant protectours of their limites. In all whych, albeit there was iuſte merite of honoꝝ and reputation, yet in common experience and reaſon of things, we cannot but coſeſſe more deſert of woꝛthinneſſe and vertue in ſuche, whole wiſedome and diſcretion maketh them able to diſſemble and ſuffer. Foꝝ, to bee diſcrete in proſperitie, and patient in aduerſitie, is the true motion and effect of a valiant and vertuous mind. If you weigh theſe things with the nature and proſertie of the preſent time, you wil conclude wyth me (I doubt not) but that the imperfection of your demand, taketh away neceſſitie in me to make anſwere. Foꝝ in theſe days, what is moꝛe familiar with the moſt ſoꝛt, thā to ſcoffe at the reuerence and dignitie of olde age, to diſobey magiſtrates, to deſpiſe iuſtice, ſcoꝛne the Clergie, laugh at the want of Capitaines, perſecute the wiſe ſoꝛte, and betray ſuch as folloꝛe vertue and ſimplicite of life? So that in an age thus hardened, & time ſo vnthankeful, that man taketh vpon him no ſmall enterpriſe, who ſtriæth to be vertuous, ſince vertue is a thing that prepareth vs to immortalitie, & maketh vs equall wyth the heauens. In times paſte, he that knew moſt, was eſteemed beſt: but now who is moſt rich, is raiſed to moſt honoꝝ. So that the conditiō of this age is, to eſteeme me ſo much more, by how much they wallow in wealth, & to meaſure their reputation, not wyth the dignitie of their vertues, but according to the facultie and fulneſſe of theyꝝ riches. Foꝝ worldly men are ſo infected wyth corruption, & their nature ſo ſubiect to reuolution and change, that in caſes of promotiō, high offices and dignities are rather bought with mony, than deſerued by vertue. In times paſt, there was no man areared to honoꝝ, but he that deſerued it: but now who are called but ſuch as ſearch it w mony? In the ſoꝛmer ages, men of ſcience were ſearched foꝝ in ſciēturies, but now though they knock at our gates, they are not ſuſe

Vertue pre-
pareth vs to
immorta-
litie.

ſered to

Golden Epistles.

to enter, no, our corruption & customes draw vs to other delights. In that golden worlde, there was no Senate, or Counsell established, where was not resident some excellent Philosopher: and now where haue we any pallace, which is not replenished with scoffers and inuenteres of vanitie? Such was the felicitie of those dayes, that hee that was vertuous, hadde libertie to controll the wicked, where now, there is no more common subiection, than that the good sorte are reprov'd by the vile abiectes and skumme of all people. In that most happy posteritie, the good sorte onely had licence to speake, where now the wicked are they that know how to holde their peace. Yea, in those flourishing seasons, the chaffe was sifted from the corne, the weede disseuered from the good hearbe, good men preferred, & the wicked punished, yea, vice was suffered to holde no societie with vertue. For that, where vice is supported by auctoritie, men growe worse and worse: and where punishment is restrayned, there insolencie commaundeth the lawes, whiche is the greatest errours that can be suffered in gouernement.

To restraine
punishment
is a greate
error in go-
uernement.

Touching your demaunde, what maner of people in the time of the Gentiles were called theues, and the sorts of punishments that they were put to: although there be greate necessitie in your request, and no lesse insufficiencie in me to satisfie it, yet I will answere you with the opinion of Aulus Gellius, who describing many orders of theues, distinguished as wel their punishments, as some kindes of thefts, which according to the time and person that committeth them, may oftentimes be taken for faultes, but not esteemed as thefts. For in paine and iudgement the qualitie with the quantitie, must be considered. The auncientes helde hym as a theefe, who, either in the fielde, or towne, tooke awaye that which was anothers, & made no body priuie to it, or against the will of the owner. He also was esteemed as a theefe, who borrowed a horse for one dayes iourney, and retained him longer. He also was accompted a theefe, who being putte in truste wyth the keepyng of other mens goddes, conuerted them to hys proper vse, as if they had bene his owne. Lastly, he bare the name of a theefe, which borrowed any thing for x. dayes, and restored it not in xx. And as all these in their severall kindes were esteemed robbers
and

and thieves, so the lawe sets down for them varietie of punishment. For amongst the *Greekes* they were marked on the forehead with hote yrons, to the ende to be more readily knowne. The statutes of *Lycurgus* were to cutte off their noses. *Prometheus* ordained, that they shoulde be committed to children to punish them at their pleasure. By the lawe of *Numa Pompilius*, one of their handes was cut off. But the firste that inuented to cutte off theyr eares, or strangle them vpon gibbets, were the *Gothes*, who, (notwithstanding in other respects were barbarous) yet vsed they seuere iustice to thieves and robbers. But at this day (sir) if there were commission to hang vp all the thieves in the world, I feare there woulde be more want of gibbets, than of robbers to furnish them. And greatly haue we to desire with *Diogenes*, that the great thieves shoulde not so hang vp the little ones, nor the Lawes be made like to spyders webbes, who suffer the great ones to pierce and passe thorough without punishment, and strangle the little sie, in whome is least offence.

Punish-
ments for
thieves.

To Don Ferdinando de Toledo, to vvhom
are expounded two authorities of the Scripture,
and the custome of the *Egyptians* in
the death of their friends.



I haue not thus long forborne to write to you, in any negligent respect, as remembryng wyth what deuotio you required me, and with what humilitie and affectio I am bound to obey you. And now if my answer seeme too short to satisfie you, let the same discretion which is wont to take all things in the best, beare now with my wretched infirmitie of the goute, which hath made me such a martyr, that much lesse I haue leasure to write, seeing I haue no abilitie to stirre or moue: yea, it hath left no parte free in my body, except my heart to sigh, and my tongue to complaine. You require me to send you in writing the exposition of those two partes of Scripture, whych

I pro-

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pronounced not long since, afore the Maiestie of Caesar, whereby, as
 I can not deny you, considering your autoritie, euen so, I hope
 you will weigh the difficultie that belongeth to it, since the penne
 can giue no such grace to describe a matter, as the tongue to pro-
 nounce it. The firste was written in the nineteenth of Leviticus,
 in these wordes: *Super mortuos non incidetis carnes vestras, neq; signa-*
lis aliquas &c. God, by Moses, commaunded here the Hebrues, that
 when any of their parentes or friendes dyed, they shoulde not
 haue their heades, nor rent their faces, and much lesse hurte any
 other parte of the body, no, nor imprint anye charred in the same.
 By the meaning of which commaundement we may gather, that
 the chyldren of *Israel* hauing dwelte many yeares wth the *A-*
gyptians, learned of them many wicked and pernicious customes.
 For as (more than any other people) they were giuen to the Ma-
 thematike sciences, and other artes and faculties superstitious,
 as Magicke and Necromancie, so there was no nation, that in the
 death of their friends exprest greater ceremonies than the *A-*
gyptians, who shewed signes of stronger friendshippe to hys friend
 being dead, than when he liued. For, when eyther the father
 loste his sonne, or the sonne was betraued of hys father, or any
 other manne by death was depriued of his priuate friende, they
 resorted forthwith to this custome, to haue the one halfe of theyr
 haire, expressing thereby, that their friend being dead, they had
 losse the one moitie of their heart. For which cause, God forbade
 the Hebrues to make themselues balde, to the ende they shoulde
 not be like the *Aegyptian* women, who in the funeralles of their
 husbandes, parentes, chyldren, or great friends, vsed to scratch and
 disfigure their faces with their proper nailes: which custome God
 forbade in the women of *Israel*, least, for vsing the ceremonies of
 the *Aegyptians*, they stode subiecte to the scourges of *Aegypt*.
 The inferiour sacrificators of *Aegypt*, when theyr high priests dy-
 ed vsed to make certaine charactes (according to their particular
 fancie) in their hands, armes, or brestes to the end, that as of-
 ten as they behelde them, they might expresse compassion and
 teares: as also at the death of their king, all the officers and ser-
 uantes of his house, made woundes in their armes, hands, face,
 or head, euery one making hys wound so much the deeper, by how
 much

much hee stode in fauour with the King. But God commanded the *Hebrues* to refraine such wilfull hurting of themselves, forbade them to imitate the *Aegyptians*, nor to follow the customes of the household seruantes of their King, for that in al those ceremonies were effectes of superstition, and onely innouated by the Deuill: yea, they brought hurt to such as liued, and were in vaine to those that were dead. In the olde lawe God also forbade men to labour the field wth yokes of Oxen & Asses: and to sow in one ground two kindes of graine, with suche like; whyche were not wth out mysterie, because all those customes depende vpon the ceremonies of the *Aegyptians*, whyche God woulde not shoulde holde any vse amongst the people of *Israel*. But here we haue to note, that God restrained not men to vse sorrow and teares in the death of their friends: For, as other ceremonies are in our will, eyther to doe or not to doe them: so sorrowe and heauinesse for the losse or absence of a friende, doe as naturally followe fleshe and blood, as our appetite to eate and drinke. And though by reason some men may dissemble them, yet by nature there are fewe that can auoid them. Therefore God that made the hart, and ioyned to it his affections, neuer added any lawe to forbidde teares and weeping: seeing to the heart, (whose chieffest propertie consisteth in tendernes) there can be offered nothing more intollerable or greuous, than to see it selfe denyed from the thing it holdeth most deare, the same standing good in apparant example in the experience and disposition of any two creatures, who, (after their long conuersation togither) if they be separated, or their sawnes enforced, will immediately (according to their kynd) declare their passion. The Lion will roare, the colwe will yell, the swine will grunt, & the dog cannot but howle: much more then is the condition of man subiect to sorrow & heauinesse, as in whom nature breedeth a more quicke and raging sense of passion, for the discontinuance of their deare friends. And if we haue compassion ouer the misadventure of a stranger, or the losses of our neighbor suffering casualty, or liuing in absence, are we restrained to lesse remore for the death of our greate friend, whome we set put into the grave? For whyche cause the Philosopher was of opinion, that so many times did a mā die, how often he lost his friends. For y^e since from

hartes

Golden Epistles.

harts vnited in one honest affection, haue but one being and place of residence, it is good reason that we bewaile the death of our chosen friends, euen wyth the same nature and compassion whych we woulde do our owne. The second part of the discourse is drawen out of Deutero. in this text, *Eligite ex vobis viros sapientes, &c.* My will is (saith God) that all suche as aspire to the administration of publique gouernement, shall be wise and noble. Thys commaundement was not pronounced of God without great myserie, but chiefly, that gouernors shoulde be bothe wise and noble: for that as wisdom without noblenesse is a troublesome thing, so noblenesse without wisdom is but a soule wythout a bodye: or as a painted fire that betommeth the wall, but giveth no heat to the beholder. Therefore, as to be gouerned by a Magistrate, flowing in science and knowledge, and failing of noblenesse, is both miserable and troublesome, so it cannot be intollerable, to liue vnder the controlement of him, to whome fortune hath gyuen greatnesse of place and birth, and grace and nature denied discretion and other temperances of the spirite: so that to make vpper a full perfection, it is necessarie the iudge haue knowledge to debate and determine causes, and nobilitie to moderate the residue of the affections of the minde. yet, the wisdom whiche God requireth in the magistrates of his common weale, oughte not to stretch to subtiltie or tyrannie, but to be tempered with modesty, sweetnesse, and gracious behauiour. For a iudge, in the office, and causes of counsel, is no lesse bounde to the obseruation of the law, religion, faith, and equitie, than to be boide of all hate, enuy, feare, conctousnesse, or other corrupt affections. It was not without cause that God commaunded to institute the iudges ouer hys people, of noble condition, saying it is a greate argument of the suretie and tranquillitie of that state, whose magistrate is compounded of nobilitie and modestie. Therefore the first gouernour that administrated the comunion weale of God, was the easie and gracious Moses, whome Gods prouidence led to be nourished in the courte of Phara by the Kings daughter to the end that in such societie & experience of so many wise and noble iudges, he mighte learne to intreate and assure good men in theyr innocencie, and howe to chastise the euill amid their wickednesse. The affaires

What is required of a iudge in matters of counsell.

of warre are farre different from the policie and gouernment of a common weale established: so that in matters of enterprises, it is meete the captaine be valiant, but to gouerne at home let the magistrate expresse affabilitie & sweetnesse: so that a ruler ought rather to be terrible in threates, than in punishment, and so to temper hys auctoritie, that hys people maye feele hys power rather with hys liberalitie than wyth iniuries. And albeit it is no generall rule, that all the common sorte be rude and barbarous, no that euerie courtier is fully furnished wyth ciuilitie: yet, in such as receyue theyr forme and fashion in courtes of Princes, is alwayes founde moze respecte, consideration, and iudgement of things, and are of a better correction of maners, than the others. There be few things whych ought to be guyded by rigor of iustice, but fewe to be gouerned by force, by whych reason it behoueth the iudge to be wise and noble, to the ende, that by wisdom he may knowe what iustice is, and by his nobilitie he may moderate the rigor of the lawe.

A magistrat ought rather to be terrible in threats than in punishment.

A discourse before the Emperour Charles the fift, wherein is handled the pardon that Christe demanded of his father for his enemies.

Pater ignosce illis quia nesciunt quid faciunt.

Father, forgive them, for they knowe not what they doe.



Amongst al the chiefe and principal vertues, the most worthy is that which we cal wisdom, so that wythout it, iustice is resolved into cruelty, temperance taketh the habit of rage and furie, and fortitude bringeth forth tyrannie. For whiche cause Christe saith not expressely to hys disciples. Bee temperate, be strong, or be iuste, but he biddeth them be wise as serpents, and simple as doves, aduising vs thereby, that he that is discrete in spirite and behaviour, cannot but be iuste

Math. 10.

Praise of
wiledome.

Psalm. 113.

Hierome. 4.

1. Reg 16.

Ecclesiast 3.

iust in y he cōmandeth, moderate in his actions, & strong in what
soeuer he enterpriseth. For he that is wise is constant, & he y is cō-
stant is not troubled, & who is not troubled liueth without sorrow
& heauinesse: so that the discrēte mā is happy, since wilsdome & dis-
cretion are cōpounded vpon the knowledge of things good & euil.
So excellent is the gift of wilsdome, y by the prouidence & directiō
of it, abuses past are reformed, things presēt are ordered, & by it mē
haue the facultie to foresee chānces to come: by whych may be con-
cluded, y he that is not furnished with that high grace, stands void
of mean to recouer that whych he hath lost, is vnable to retaine y
which he hath, & hath no power to aspire to that whych he hopeth
for. Thou hast made me wise ouer mine enimies, saith y Prophet
Dauid. wher in he seemeth to offer thanks to the Lord, for y though
by his wickednes & sin, he hath deserued to haue enimies, yet the
Lord hath succoured him, in giuing him meane to defend himselte
against thē by his wilsdome, without y which he had not bin able
to haue serued God, nor resisted his aduersaries. So noble is the
vertue & grace of wilsdome, y she cannot chōse her perpetual dwel-
ling, in a person altogether wicked. And therfore, when we see any
politike in that they do, subtile in that they say, prouidēt in their
plots & purposes, and diligent to execute their enterpises: of such
let vs say wyth S. Hier. *Quod sapientes sunt ut malum faciant, face-
re autem bonum nesciunt*. Such are wise men to doe euil, but to do
well, they neyther know the way, nor haue the meane. Saule in
a great presence of his peeres and potentates, saide thus of Dauid:
Noui Dauid filium Isai virum bellicosum, & prudentem in verbis, &c.
I knowe Dauid the sonne of Isai to be valiaunt in armes, and dis-
creete in speech: wherein we haue to note that the scripture com-
mendeth not Dauid so much for the stabilitie of hys countenance,
nor for his grauitie in the iudgement of cases, nor for his policie
in the expedition of warres, as for the discretion he vsed in dispo-
sing his speech and words, the same remaining to vs a good argu-
ment & example, that in nothing may be expessed & manifested y
vertue of wilsdome more than in ordering y speech. The wisemā
vseth this text: *Tempus loquendi, & tempus tacendi*, meaning, that
then a wise man is beste knowne, when he hath discretion to dis-
cerne the difference of times to speake, and times to vse silence.

For

For al things of thys life, haue their place to staye in, their being, by meane wherof they are preserved: time to work their conditiō wherevnto they are inclined, & haue end, wherein they suffer end. God assigneth seasons & enableth euery time to his proper office & function. For, as in one time men thowse sēde into the ground, so an other season bringeth vnto thē they increase and fruite: some times mē trauel, & other seasons are appointed to rest: at one time princes build, & at another they pull downe: & sometimes there is libertie to speake, when at another season it is more cōuenient to vse silence: so that as euery thing hath his time, & euery time his proper season: so it is necessarie to speake when there is consent of time & place, together with good counsel & consideratiō of the matter that is spokē. For, as silence is a gift without peril, & cōteineth in it many good things, so it were better our silence brought our simplicitie in suspitiō, than to speake either inconueniently, idely, or vnnecessarily. This text, *Tempus tacendi, & tempus loquendi*, teacheth vs, that if first we learne not when to hold our peace, we shall hardly knowe howe to speake in opportunitie: seeing wpth the aduised and resolute man this is one propertie, to ponder and make a iudgement of his wordes, afoze he deliuer them publickely: and therefore it is holden an assured signe of a wise man, whē he expresth the true difference betwēne hys libertie to speake, & discretion to hold his peace. For, as suche may be his necessitie to speake, that to vse silence, could not be without great suspitiō of his ignorāce: so also, so requisite may be the occasion to hold his peace, y to speake cānot be without imputation of follie: by whych reaso, y wiseman speaking so much of time, giueth vs libertie to speake in seaso, & not other wise, aduising vs further, y as to vse continual silence, cānot be without signe of great simplicitie, so, to speake out of oportunitie & purpose breeds in it self an opinion of great follie.

Who seeth his brother, saith the prophet, wallowing in wickednesse and sinne, and doth not admonish and perswade hym to conuersion, God will require accompte of the sinnes of the offender at hys handes, as consenting and guiltie to hys wickednesse. The Prophet Eiaie, being sozie that he had holden his peace, cryed out, *Va mihi quia tacui*: as if he had said, oh Lord God, how many faults I haue dissembled and kept secrete, so many wayes am

Silence is a gift without peril.

Ezech. 3.

Eiaie. 6.

C. y.

I guil

Genes. 4.

I guiltie: for that if I had disclosed them, I had bin rebuked and reformed. But if it be an euill thing to keepe silence, it is yet worse to speake, according to the example & experience in Caine, *Maiores est iniquitas mea quam ut veniam merear*, so great is my sin, that I deserue no grace nor mercie. Much better hadde it bene for Caine to haue holden hys peace, than to speake so euill, for that his wickednes was more intollerable dispaire of Gods mercy, than for the murther he made of hys brother. Thus we see the prophet was culpable for vsing silence, & Caine condemed because he spake: by whych we may gather the greates necessitie we haue of wisdom to vse time to speake, and time to suffer silence. For as the tre is knowen by his fruite, and the vertue of a man discerned by hys woorkes, so in hys wordes and speech, are disclosed the qualitie of hys wisdom, or simplicitie. And as Iesus Christ in all hys actions, was no lesse patient to heare, than moderate in speaking, so, we finde not in Scripture, that he euer deliuered worde in vaine, nor euer helde his peace but for feare of slander. And although it be a miserable compulsion, to vse silence in things whych we haue desire to disclose, yet considering silence bringeth suerty, and containeth in it selfe many other goodly things, let vs stande restrained to the two seasons whych Socrates alloweth wythout reprehension: the one is when we speake of that which we manifestly know, and the other whē we haue in hand things necessarie. In whych two tymes onely, as speech is better than silence: so in al other seasons, experience approueth that we ought to preferre silence afore speaking.

To what purpose or intention tended al the
speeches of Iesus Christe.



Math. 13.

Math. 5.

The wordes of our sauour tended either to the praise of hys father, as when he humbled himselfe in this speache, *Confiteor tibi pater*: or to teache men what they ought to doe, when he sayde, *Beati mites*: or else to reprehende wickednesse and sinne, when hee

Lord hath perfozmed this pardon with so true a heart, so hathe he not suffered that there remaine in it any scruple: and therfore he besought his father to pardon them, to the end, that by the humanitie whyche he indured, and diuinitie whyche suffered it, his enemies might be at the instant absolued, and we others haue hope to obtaine remission.

That vhen Christe our Lorde gaue pardon
he left nothing to forgiue.

LIke sorte we haue to note, that Iesus Christ required not hys father to pardon them after his death, but besought him to forgiue them at the instant, aduising vs by that example, that to be good christians, and true followers of our redeemer, it becometh vs (afoze we passe out of this life) to dissolue and bzeake all rancor and malice. For the frowarde and seditious shall haue muche to indure in the other woꝛld, if in this life they were slowe to pardon and forgiue. But since the speach which the Lord expessed vpon the Crosse, was so high and excellent, it cannot be out of purpose to dispute what good thing the *Hebrues* did, to deserue so famous a pardon: so, so much more noble and greate is the remission, by how much lesse there is occasion gyuen to doe it. In the death of our Saviour, the *Hebrues* offered many greate and vnnaturall iniuries, for the leaste whereof, much lesse that there was merite of pardon, where, in the acte was sufficient desert to haue them all throwne quicke into the deepest bottoms of hell. In the firste, they did not onely put hym to death by malice (being the man moste tollerable in theyꝝ common weale) but set at libertie Barabas, a comon murtherer of the quicke, and crucified Iesus Christ, which raysed from death such as suffred death. If execution had bin done in some distant village far remoued from the cities and resort of people, the iniurie & dishonor had bin more tollerable: but to theyꝝ wicked cōspiracie, to put him to death, they ioined a most abhominable meane and maner of execution, and applying it proper to theyꝝ reuenge

Five iniuries done to Christe at his suffering

A circumstance of the passion of Christe.

Golden Epistles.

to bring open shame to his innocencie, they crucified hym in the greate Citie of *Hierusalem*, where Christ stode in state of good reputation for his sermons, and had there his allies and kinned, euen men of great honour and honestie. In their determination to put him to death, although they published the execution in *Hierusalem*, yet, if they had either taken the nyght or chosen some priuate house, the time and place had not so apparantly detected their malice. For, that is more than barbarous fiercenesse, where is no respect to time, place, nor person, obseruations naturally remembred, euen amongst *Tigres* and *Lions* in their extreamest passions of rage and furie. But of the contrarie, at the third houre they ledde him out of the citie, and at the sixte, they crucified hym, and at the ninth houre he yelded vpp the Gholle: seasons wherein the day raigneth in his most clearenesse, and people make their common assemblies, in whose sight, they ought to haue forborne to haue crucified that innocent Lambe, betwene two theues, hee, whose race and linage was of kings, and esteemed to be the soueraigne Prophet. But to persecute him as wel wyth ignominie, as with paine, they gaue hym societie wyth Robbers and Theues, to the ende the world myght thinke that he was the greatestt theefe of all.

Malice the
maistresse
of iniustice.

Psalme. 128.

They might, lastly, haue referred him to a kynd of death lesse staunderous to heare, and not so cruell to suffer: but according to their insatiable malice, they restrained Pilate to that election and choice of death, as wherein might be wrought to our Redemer moste apparance of obloquie and shame. For malice beyng the maystresse of iniustice, styreth vp both the thoughts and handes of men to wicked things. Albeit these were the workes whyche they did, and the merites for the whych Iesus Christ should procure them pardon and mercie: yet, in recompence of this vntwoorthy death, and so many blasphemous wrongs, Christ cryed with a pitifull voice, saying: Father forgive them, for they knowe not what they do. Here may be brought in y^e saying of y^e prophet speaking in the person of Iesus Christ: *Super dorsum meum fabricauerunt peccatores, prolongauerunt iniquitatem suam*: as if he had said, I know not what I haue done against thee, O synagogue, and yet thou hast bene againste mee from mine infancie, thou hast persecuted me

he cried *Va vobis legis peritis*: So that when he was not occupied to giue praise and glorie to hys father, nor to preach doctrine, nor to rebuke vices, then he was settled in a deuoute and holy silence. The *Hebrues* ledde him to their Consistories afore their Iudges, that is to say, they brought hym to the place before Herode. to the Bishops house before Annas, and to the tree of the crosse before his father, at which place onely he spake, and in the others he vsed silence: and therefore afore the two first tribunalles he was accused of crime, because he helde his peace: and standing as aduocate afore the thirde, he spake. And albeit right greate and infinite were the woꝝkes whiche our redeemer did frow: the time he was taken till he was crucified, yet his woꝝdes were fewe, and hys speaches in very small number: the better to teach vs, that in time of tribulation and aduersitie, we oughte moze to seeke oure consolation in a holy and deuout patience, than to preferre oꝝ expresse great eloquence.

Christ then being vpon the hill of *Caluarie*, not onely condemned to death, but very nere the passiō of the same, hauing his flesh pierced wpyth nailes, and his heart burning in zeale and loue, cryed to his father, *Pater ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt*: as if he had saide, Oh eternall father, in recompence that I am come into the worlde, and in consideration of the preaching that I haue made of thy name, in satisfaction of the pains and crucifying that I indure, and in respecte that I haue reconciled the worlde to thee: I require no other reward, but that it may be thy godd pleasure to pardon these mine enemies, who haue sinned to the end I should die: and I suffer death because they may liue. Forgiue them, since thou knowest, and all the worlde seeth, that in my bloude is payde and satisfied their crime, and with my charitie I haue raised and put them in my glorie, so that let my death be sufficient, to the end that no other death haue more place in the worlde. Pardon them, since thou knowest, that the death which triumphed in the Crosse, and by the whyche I am nailed to the same, is crucified here in this tree, by meanes whereof (Oh euerlasting father) I beseeche thee esteeme moze the charitie wherein I die for them, the malice by the whych they prosecute my death. Forgiue them (Oh heauenly father) since if thou considerest these my enemies in

the nature & merite of their sinnes, there wilnot be found in the furies of hell, torments greate ynough to punishe them. Then better is it (oh father) that thou pardon them, since that as there was neuer the like fault committed, so shalt thou neuer haue occasion to vse the like mercie. And seeing my death is sufficient to saue all suche as are boꝛne, or to be boꝛne, those that are absent, present dead, and aliuē: it is no reason that these here shoulde bee shut out from that benefite, being a thing of most equitie, iustice, and right: that as my blood is not spilled but wyth thy consent, so also, by thy hands it shoulde be well employed.

In this, we haue to note, that Chꝛist saide not, Lord pardon them, but he said, Father forgine them, as describing this difference betwene those two estates, that to a Lorde belongeth properly to haue bondmen, subiectes, and vassalles: and the name of a father presupposeth to haue children: so that he required hys father not to iudge them as a Lorde, but besought hym to pardon them as a father. Chꝛiste also saide not conditionally, Father, if it be thy pleasure, forgine them: but he prayed absolutelye (after himselfe had forgien them) that hys father would pardon them: by whych example we are putte in remembraunce, that the reconciliation which we make wth our enimics, ought to be pure, absolute, and wythout affection. Besides, our redeemer saide not singularly: Father pardon him, but he spake plurally: by whych we may be informed, that as he prayed not particularly for anye one in priuate, but generally for all, so hys blood dispersed on the Crosse was not onely sufficient to redeeme one onely worlde, but to satisfie the raunsome of a million of worldes. And out of this mysterie may be drawen this construction, that our sauour praying generally for all, expresseth himselfe so liberall to giue, and so mercifull to pardon, that when he forgineth a sinner any offence, he pardoneth withall his other crimes.

It is not also wythout mysterie, that Chꝛiste said not: I forgine them, but besought his father to pardon them. For that, if the son onely had pardoned them after his death, the father might haue demaunded the iniurie: because that if the sonne had forgien them, he had done it as a man, where the execution of the iustice remayned in God. But as the diuine worde, yea the lyving

his father, *Pater ignosce illis*. There was no great distance betwene the time of the petition of the *Jewes*, and the prayer of our sauiour: for as they cryed at the third houre to haue him crucified, and that the reuenge of his blood might light vpon them and theirs, so at the ninth houre, *Christe* prayed to his father to forgiue them: O father (saith he) let not the vengeance of my death redound vpon them, neither stretch out thine ire vpon this people that knowe not what they doe: for they are ignorant of the price of their deuinaunde and protestation that with suche obstinate behemencie they pursue to Pilate. Much better then did the Apostle consider and feele this great miserie, when he saide, *Accessistis ad sanguinis asperionem melius loquentem quam Abel*: Oh wretched *Hebrues* and happie oh we *Christians*, who haue obtained pardon by the effusion of the blood of the sonne of God, shedde by your meane. This speach sure was farre other wise, than the saying of Abel, crying, iustice, iustice, but our Sauiour saide, mercie, mercie: So that, the iniquitie so generall, and sinne so wicked as ours is, had neede of suche an aduocate as is *Iesus Christe*: for who was so fitte to obtaine pardon for our sinnes, as he, whose innocencie made hym without sinne?

That God vvas vront to be called the God

of vengeance, and nowe is hee named the
father of mercie.



Iesus Christ languishing in torment and martyrdome vpon the crosse, expressed an other maner of Testament to the worlde, than king *Dauid*, who in the very passiōs of death, charged *Salomon* his son not to suffer the gray haire of *Ioab* to come to the graue without blood: nor the liues of his subiects and seruants to ende without reuēge: yet they had not so much as touched his garmēt to offēd him, where the Lord wold not cease to purchase pardon for those by whose violēt hands was wrought the effect of his death, *Deus ultionū dominus, deus ultionū*, saith *Dauid*, speaking

of

Genes. 3.
Genes. 7.
Genes. 19.
Exod 32.

Adhuc car-
nes erant in
dentibus eo-
rum, & ecce
furor domi-
ni, & percus-
sit populum
plaga ma-
gna.

Recensui
quod fecit
Abimelech
Israel, vade
ergo & in-
terfice à viro
vsque ad mu-
lierem ho-
uem, ouem,
& camelum
&c
1. Reg.
Psalin 50.

of the iustice of God, thou art Lord the God of reuenge, since that
fro the instant that we commit the offence, it is thou that thun-
derest punishment vpon vs: yea, thou arte so called, because of the
seare that the worlde hathe of thee, and that thou dealest wyth the
generations of men in so greate rigour. With the auncients hee
was called the God of reuenge, for that immediatly after that
Adam had transgressed, he was chased out of the earthly Para-
dise: the regions of the earth by the vniuersall flood were drow-
ned: the two cities by his rigor subuerted: the faction of Aaron
and Abiram consumed: the idolaters that offered worship to the
calse, committed to death: the thase of Hiericho stoned: and the host
of Senatherib ouerthrowne: yea, without offering wrong to any,
he did iustice to al. That God in those times was the God of ven-
geance, it appeareth in the action on the mount Raphim, when the
Hebrues demaunded of Moles to giue them flesh to eate, whyche
tourned to their greate damage, for that they hadde scarce-
lye begonne to taste the fleshe of Quails falling in theyr
hoste, when loe the indignation of the Lorde slewe suche mul-
titudes of them, that the Scripture forbeareth to expresse the
number.

The reuenge of the offence of the King Abimelech, denying the
Israelites to passe thorough his countries, was it not executed thre
hundredth yeaes after the fault, and in the raigne of King Saule
to whome G D D saide, I keepe remembraunce of the smal re-
garde which Abimelech gaue to my commandements, stopping
the passage of my people the 20th his realmes, against whom loke
that thou rise and areare thine army, and cut in peeces all his peo-
ple, sparing neyther man, woman, nor beaste: by whiche exam-
ple wyth many others of equal continuance and equitie, the
men of the worlde may perceiue, how deepe and vnsearchable are
the iudgements of God, who sometimes punisheth the immediat
offender, and oftentimes transferreth the correction vpon such on-
ly as descend of their race: So that he punisheth no man without
desert, & therefore not without mysterie is he called by the prophet
the God of reuenge because that albeit he vseth to dissemble for
sometime our transgressions committed against his Maestie, yet
they are not perpetually forgotten with hym.

The

me in my youth, & in the fenite & ripeneste of mine age thou haste crucified me, and yet hast discharged al thy sins vppon my shoul-
 ders, *Super dorsum meū fabricauerunt peccatores*: Adam was the first
 that laide vppon my shoulders disobedience: his wife Eue, slouth
 and Epicuritie: Caine his sonne, murder and slaughter: the pa-
 triarche Loth incest: king David, adulterie: Ieroboam his sonne
 idolatrie: and all the synagogue so discharged vpon me their ma-
 lice, that, where they in their wickednesse committed the crimes,
 I vpon the Crosse payed for them the raunsome of their paines,
 whych are not onely for that they layed vppon my backe al theyr
 offences, but because that assembling and heaping wickednesse
 vpon wickednesse, they haue prolonged their iniquitie, and haue
 not bene sorie for that they haue done, but because they were a-
 ble to do no more: so that, if their ioies were great to see my death,
 great also was their displeasure by the means of my resurrection.

Thus these miserable *Hebrues* haue increased and prolonged
 their iniquitie, bearing enuie to the doctrine of Iesus Christe, of
 whych enuy, they conceiued hatred, and of that hatred they con-
 spired together to crucifie him, and being bold to crucifie him, they
 toke impudencie to mocke him, and after they hadde scorned
 him they denyed his resurrection, and so resolved into obstinacie,
 that Iesus Christe sayde not of them wythout cause: *Expugnauerunt me à iuventute mea*, continuing to persecute me, euen vnto my
 graue.

Psalme. 128.

But hauing thus deduced the small reasons of the *Hebrues* to
 put Christe to death, together also with the slender occasions they
 gaue him to obtain their pardon: let vs withal speake of the great
 bountie wherewith he recompenced their crueltie, and of the vni-
 uersall pardon whyche he obtained of his father for them: where-
 in the circumstances deserue almost as much to be noted, as the
 pardon it selfe. Iesus Christ then well expressed his inestimable
 bountie, in the prayer whyche he commended to his father at the
 instant of hys death, requiring pardon for his enimies: a thing so
 much the more vehemently desired of him, by how much he knew
 it was moste necessarie to them for whome he prayed. Christe al-
 so felte bitterly the teares and sorrowes of his mother, (but that
 was a passion according to the nature and condition of a son (but

Christe vsed
 most sweete
 words when
 he asked par-
 don for hys
 enimies.

Golden Epistles.

the destruction of the *Hebrues* touched him in the zeale and compassion of a creator. The dolours of hys mother coulde not stay him from dying for his enemies, for that he knew that she had brought him forth in great ioy, but he had redeemed the *Hebrues*, with most bitter trauell. In thys also appeared his wonderful bountie, that in hys prayer he called not on the maiestie of God, by the title of Lord, but by the name of Father: a name truly, wherein is vertue to make easie and tractable the heart of a man being appealed vnto by his sonne. *Frons meretricis facta est tibi, & nolisti erubescere: reuertere ad me, & dic, Pater meus es tu*, sayth God, speaking to the synagogue of the *Iewes* by his Prophet Ieremie, as if he hadde saide: *O Israel*, albeit thou arte so obstinate in thy malice, that thou takest no more shame of thy sinnes, than a common woman diuiding hir bodie to strange fleshe, yet, if thou come afoze me in prayer, and call me Father, I wil answere thee, and acknowledge thee for my sonne. By this we haue to thinke, that it was not to obtaine a small thing, when he beganne his prayer by this inuocation: father forgiue them: yea, he made offer of the same phrase, for the remission of hys enemies, whyche he woulde haue done, if he had prayed for the aduancement of hys best friendes. But in recompence of this wonderful affection and zeale, that nation (replenished wth malice) cried out to Pilate, to crucifie him, who refusing to commit his innocencie to sentence, & not finding in hym worthinesse of death, they cryed estwoones: *Sanguis eius super nos & super filios nostros*. Be not so scrupulous to iudge an offender, saye they, for if thou thinke thou doest an vniust thing, let the vengeance of his innocencie fall vpon vs and our posteritie. But from this petition Iesus Christ seemed to appele: for that as they cryed that his blood might be against them, so of the contrarie, he sought to make that holy effusio profitable to them: so that where they demaunded of Pilate their condemnation, he prayed to hys father for their pardon. For a manne to doe no euil to his enemy maye verie well happen: to pardon enemies belongeth to the office of Christ Iesus. To loue an enemy is the worke of a perfecte man: but to pardon him which woulde not obtaine pardon, was neuer done by any but by Iesus Christe. For when the *Hebrues* cryed, *Sanguis eius super nos*, Christe lift by hys voice and zeale to his

Matth 27.

An indif-
creete de-
maund of
the Iewes.

The same God that the *Hebrues* had and worshipped in those times, do the *Christians* holde at this day, as true and soueraigne *Loorde*, of whome the *Apostle* yeldeth better testimonie to the Church than did *Dauid* to the *synagogue*: For *Dauid* called hym the God of vengeance, and the *Apostle* hono:eth him by the name of father of mercie and consolation: whercin, as *Dauid* was not wythout some occasion to ascribe vnto hym that sy: name and title, so the *Apostle* also hadde better reason to inuocate him in the phrase of mercifull father, for that in that law of rigour and feare, God had a propertie to chastice people and nations, where in this law of grace he visiteth vs in affection & mercie, whereby hauing chaunged custome he hath also ioined vnto him an other propertie of name and title, being now worthily called the father of mercie according to his many examples of mercie and pitie expressed vpon many sinners, as vpon *S. Mathewe* in remitting his vsuries, vpon *Marie Magdalene* in pardoning hir vanities, vpon the *Samaritane*, in forgyuing hir adulteries, vpon the theefe in purging hys thefts, vpon *S. Peter* that had denyed him, and vpon the wretched *Hebrues* that conspired his death.

O merciful *Iesus*, and delight of our soules, since the time is past, wherin thy father was named the God of reuenge, & the season come wherein he is called vpon by the name of father of mercies: we beseech thee oh Saviour of the race of man, to haue pitie vpon our soules, and amend our liues, we that are thy brethren and members of thy Church: and since in losing our selues we lose much, and the meane of our safetie standeth only in thy goodness, pardon vs according to thy holy custom and propertie of thy nature, oh Creator of all things, and redeemer of all faulces, since thou hast spoken by thy prophet, I will not the death of a sinner, but that he liue and be conuerted. Beholde vs (oh *Loorde*) in thy presence, and conuerted to thee: receiue vs, oh infinite & perpetual God as our father, & pardon vs as thy children: and as we confesse wyth humilitie, *Tibi soli peccauimus*, so let it be thy pleasure to say to thy father, *Pater ignosce illis*. He was called in the olde lawe, he God of reuenge, because hys wil was, that there should be restitution of eye for eye, tooth for tooth, & hand for hand: but in the law of grace he is called father of mercy, for that he hath com-

A good
prayer.

maunded

Golden Epistles.

maunded to render loue for hate, honoꝝ for infamie, clemencie for crueltie, and pardon for iniurie: *Loquuti sunt aduersum me lingua dolosa, & odio circumdederunt me expugnauerunt me gratis, ego autem crabbam,* saith Dauid, speaking in the person of Iesus Christe: Oh synagogue. ful wel do I know that thou canst worke me no more euil than thou haste already done: for thou hast hated me with thy heart, blasphemed me with thy tongue, and killed me with thy handes, and in recompence of these deadly wrongs, I prayed to my father for thee, and wyth vehement humilitie called vpon him to heare my prayer. This prophecie sure, as it was pronounced by Dauid both king and prophet, so hath it also bene accomplished by Iesus Christ. For at the time whē they crucified hym with nailes and tormentes, at the instant when they blasphemed hym wyth their tongues, at the season when they helde hys prophets in derision, yea, when he liqnozed the earth wyth hys bloude, & opened the heaucns wyth his teares, euen then did he praye with greate compassion to his father, to pardon them. Oh wonderfull bountie of our sauour, who sayng euen from the crosse hys greatest enemies, *Quod loquuti sunt aduersum illum, quod odio circumdederunt,* and without occasion *expugnauerunt illum,* and yet he prayed for them, as if they had bene free and exempt from fault: Great is the action of this boutie, ouerpassing the reach of man, & exceeding the iudgement of Angels, and yet a worke right worthy of the Lorde, betwēne whose holy intentions, & wicked working of his enemies, is expresse no smal difference: For y^e for loue, they rendred hate: they appointed him prisoner, where he purchased their deluerie: they accused him, where he excused them: they presented him afoze Pilate, where he offered them to God his father: yea, where he desired to haue them pardoned, they procured to see him crucified: so that in this he expresseth a greater zeale to them, than they can beare to themselves, for that he holdeth the offendoꝝ absolved, and demaundeth pardon of his father afoze the fault be cosseled. They prepared gall and binger to present him in the passion of death, and sharped their launce to pierce his sides, and yet he besoughte his father to remit the punishment befoze they had actually committed the sinne. If the sonne of God would haue demaunded any other thing of hys father, the present view & estate of his martyrdom

tyrdomie ministred sufficient occasion: for he might haue desired of his father to remoue the pangs of his passion, or to ease & paines of his fleshe, pierced thorough with nailles, to take his enimies from his presence to preuent the obloquie, to suffer betwene two thæues: or lastly, he might haue demaunded, that after his death to his body might be ioyned a sepulchre. But to requestes of such nature, the sauour of the worlde seemed to carry verie small regarde, and lesse expectation of comfort or ease to his owne distresse: no, he esteemed it a thing farre more worthe of him, and an acte of greater charity to require pardon for his enimies rather than to seeke solace for his present sorrows, or be carefull for his paines to come. Oh redeemer of the worlde, let it please thee (we beseech thee) that as in the acte of the holy sacrifice celebrated by thee vpon the crosse, thou prayedst for thine enimies, and besoughtest thy father to pardon them: that euen by the same bountie thou wouldest also vouchsafe to pray to thy father for vs particularly, saying, *Pater ignosce illis*. For albeit we were not of the number of those that crucified thee, yet we are not exempt from transgressing thy commaundementes, and are euen wyth the firste that haue offended thee. It sufficed not Christe to save onely, *Pater ignosce illis*, but in excusing them he added, *Nesciunt quid faciunt*: Oh father (saith he) forgive them as people that know not the harne that they do in putting me to death, and as men ignorant of the displeasures that will happen for want that they haue not known me: vouchsafe to supplie the fault of their ignorance, *Quia nesciunt quid faciunt*. Rightly spake the Lord of them when he saide, They knowe not what they doe: For ignorance was to them knowledge, that by his bloude shoulde be appeased the wyath of the father: the seates of swones replenished whyche were made void by the offence of the wicked angels: the old sin of Adam defaced, & the vniuersall worlde redeemed. This was an assured argument of their ignorance, for that they put to death & son of God, the inheritor of eternitie, the workman of the worlde, the Lord of angels, & he which is not only iust, but iustice it self. Truly they knew not what they did, since the time will come wherein shalbe redemaded of the the bloud of & innocent, their city destroyed, & laide vpon spoile, their rich temple reuered, their sacrifices confounded,

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confounded, and their lawe take ende: yea, untill the renoulation of the woꝛlde, they shall wander as vagabondes, without lawe, and wythout king. *Nesciunt quid faciunt*, for the effusion of that pretious bloude, the Church hath succeded the synagogue: Iesus Chryste taken place of Moles: baptisme supplanted circumcision: the Apostles succeded the Prophets: the olde testament the newe: the crosse of Iesus Chryste abolished the serpent of brasse: and the sacramentes of the Church defaced the olde sacrifices: so that as they toke away the life of Iesus Chryste wyth paines on the crosse, so in the same, he put ende to their synagogue. Clough, safe then (oh mercifull Lord) that as thou haste pardoned them, who wythout any submission crucified thee, so, thou wilt also remit our sinnes, that prostrate afore the accompany our petitions wyth teares and humilitie, beseeching thee to communicate vnto vs (during the vse of this life) thy spirite of grace and feare, and in the other woꝛld the fruition of thy Maiestie in glozie.

A Discourse afore the Emperour, vvherein is
touched the conuersion of the goodtheefe.

Domine memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum,
Lorde remember mee, when thou comcest into thy
kingdome.

Theuerie chꝛistian iudgement, ought to bee acceptable thys notable saying of Boetius: *Nihil ex omni parte beatum*, as if he had sayd, There is nothing in thys woꝛlde so perfect, wherein cannot be found imperfection, noꝛ any thing so vniuersally blessed, whyche is not subiect to his bale, erroꝛ, and reprehension: yea fewe things containe their iust measure, beyng brought to the yard, and fewe are found to holde equitie of weight, when they are peysed in the balance. Manne of himselfe is so small a matter, and by reason of hys frailtie of so weake power and apprehension, that there was neuer Prince so mightie,

mightie, philosopher so wise, Captaine so valiant, nor anye one so established in blisse, in whose condition coulde not be found occasion of correction, and in their life amendement of behauiour. What is he to whome God hath giuen creation, and the earth disposed hir naturall sustenance, who hath not sorrowed, who hath not sinned, & whose doings haue not bene entangled with error? Yea, if we behold our selues with eyes of our selues, besides that we shall see in our comon actions nothing but imperfection, error, and sinne, so also we shall finde, that the men of the worlde doe many moe things wherein are moe occasions to repent them, than meanes to worke their commendation. *Iustus es domine, & rectum iudicium tuum*, sayth the Prophete, Righteous is the Lorde in all that he doth, and iuste in his iudgements: yea, there is moze certaintie in the iustice and iudgements of the Lorde, than either in the course of the sunne, the reuolution of the heauens, or stabilitie of the earth. Little honour had Dauid attributed to God, in naming him iuste, if he had not also saide, that his custome was to doe iustice, as in like sorte, it had not bene inough to ascribe vnto the Lorde the action of iustice, if withall he had not giuen hym the name, title, dignitie, and reputation of righteous. For, many there are, who are iuste in their persons, but do not administer iustice to others: as of the other side, there be such as are instrumētts in the distribution of iustice to others, and are not righteous in themselves: by reason whereof, we may say, that so high and noble is this priuiledge to doe all things well, and in their perfection, that God hath reserued it to himselfe, and not vouchsafed to communicate that diuine prerogative to any creature. And therefore, all things, vpon the which the Lord bestoweth his eyes and countenance, are not only good, but also we ought to beleue, that in them is no imperfection or error. *Quia vidit Deus cuncta quae fecerat, & erant valde bona*: which falleth not out so in the actions of man, because in whatsoever he enterpriseth or bringeth to passe, is found good occasion of correction, and iust reason of amendement. For the dayes of our life are so short, and the art which we learn, of so long studie and time, that when we thinke we haue learned any thyng, it is when wee stand euen in the iawes of death, and are ready to pierce the pitte prepared for our corrupt bones.

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God hath
made all
things by
waight and
measure.
Wisdom. 11

In all the woꝝkes of man, there is imperfection, according to the sentence of Socrates. who confessed he hadde learned no other thing in *Athens*, but to knowe that he knewe nothing: wherein sure he saide truely. For how rude, vile, or base so euer the art be, we finde in it alwayes moze things to learne than we haue learned the same being the occasion of the ciuil controuersies now a daies, wherein the philosopher reasoneth against the philosopher, the maister against the maister, and the scholler against his mate, disputing and maintaining opinions only to seeke out and know which is he that vnderstandeth moſte: al which proceedeth of the little we knowe, and the much we presume, and that none will confesse to be inferiour one to an other, *Omnia in pondere & mensura fecisti*, saith the wise man speaking of God: Thou hast made all things oh Loꝝde by weight and measure, whych being aboute the power and prerogative of man, falleth out contrarie in all his actions. For all things in this wretched woꝝld, being guided moze by opinion than by reason, it happeneth moſte often, that we cut off and abridge, that we ought moſte to encrease and lengthen: and of the contrarie, giue continuance & amplification to things whiche deserue to be discontinued and diminished. But in the house of God is neyther faction in opinion, nor partialitie in reason: no, who can reasonably haue occasion to complain, seeing that al things that he giues to vs, are laid out by waight and measure? When God had promised to Abraham the land of promise, he seemed forthwith desirous of the possession of it, whyche the Loꝝde woulde not agree vnto, afoze thꝛee hundred yeares were passe and finished, saying vnto him: that *Nondum completa erat malitia Amorrhæorum*, meaning, I am the greates God of *Israel*, the iudge of the quicke and of the dead, and of the good and of the wicked, and being he, to whome belongeth the rodde of righteous iustice, and in whome onely is the propertie to doe equitie to euerie one: it is mete to expect yet in thꝛee hundred yeares, to the ende the *Canaanites* may deserue to lose their lande, and thy race procede, to bee moze worthie of it. From the time that king Saule was forgotten of God, vntill David was elected ouer *Israel*, there passed foꝝtie yeres before the scepter was taken from the one, and the other ioined to the thꝛone of the kingdome: in which respite of time the

Loꝝde

Lorde carried till wicked Saule became worse, and David in-
 creased in vertue and goodnesse. Since therefore the gistes
 and doings of **G D** are administered by waight and measure,
 this ought to bee the thought and iudgement of euerie Christian,
 that when he sendeth aduersitie it is to exercise vs: if hee visite
 vs with pouertie, it is wyth thys intention, to make vs deserue
 better: when he blesseth our estates with plenty, by so much more
 ought we to retribute vnto hym, thanks, seruice, glorie and obe-
 dience: and if he chastiseth vs: oh let vs thinke, that hee hathe
 meaning to amende and make vs better. So that as all thyngs
 in the worlde and elsewhere wythin the circuite and circumfe-
 rence of heauen and earth, were established by his preordynance
 and foresight, and guided to their effectes by hys omnipotent,
 diuine, and infallible prouidence: so, there is nothyng that hee
 dothe administer or disperse to his creatures of the worlde, but it
 is measured wyth hys iustice, and peysed wyth hys wisdom
 and mercy. And so followyng estesones our firste matter, if
 it be true (as it is most cleare from erroꝝ or fallshode) that the Lord
 is iust, and in hys iudgements righteous, and doeth all thyngs by
 waight and measure: how can thys be wythout apparance of con-
 tradiction, when he gaue heauen to the theefe wythout deseruing
 it, and led hym wyth hym into Paradise, hauihg done to hym no
 seruice. For, sinner for sinner, wicked for wicked, vnthankful for
 vnthankful, & theefe for theefe, it seemeth to the aduise and reason
 of man, that God myght as well haue employed hys kyngdome
 in Iudas that hadde followed hym thre yeaꝝ, as vpon the theefe
 that accompanied hym on the Crosse but thre houres. *Fur erat*
& oculos habebat: It was wytten of Iudas: hee was a theefe, and
 hadde the bagge: and of the other it is also wytten, that he was
 a theefe and a robber: wherein if in the manner and fashioꝝ of
 robbiꝝg they were different, muche lesse were they like of
 name and facte: So that if Iesus Christe hadde taken hys
 kyngdome from a wycked manne to haue gyuen it to a good man,
 that hadde bene to doe iustice byrightly: but to take it from one
 theefe, to bestowe it on an other robber seemeth a thyng verpe
 straite and harde, for that in the worlde there can bee nothyng
 worse employed, than that whych is gyuen to a person vntoworthy.

A question
 not imper-
 tinent.

The soluti-
 on of the
 doubt.

Golden Epistles.

God the creator took the right of inheritance from Caine, to bestowe it on Abel: he depriued Ismael to giue it to Isaac, and Esau to transference it to Iacob: he took it from Ruben to bestowe it on Iuda: he deposed Saule to the ende to raise Dauid to the Empire: and depriued Helie to aduance Samuel: all which he did, for that in the one sorte of them, he found great merites, and in the other plentie of wickednes and abhominable crimes. But in these two theues the worlde discerned little apparance of merite, and lesse expectation of any good thing in a life so euill disposed as theirs, where being detected iudicially, & very testimonie of their faults proued in them sufficient matter to be reprehended and corrected. But since God is of power to pierce into the thoughts, hearts, and intentions of men, and to himselfe he hath reserued the solution and triall of things that he doth: I say, that in this, or in any other case whatsoeuer, there is nothing wherein it is lawfull for man to argue with God. For in this did he iustly send Iudas into hell, and with the same equitie translate the theefe into Paradise, for that the one was worthy of glorie for confessing his trespass: and the other deserued to lose it, for that he was a traytour to the life of his Maister.

God pier-
ceth into
the thoughts
and intentions
of men.

Let vs not meruaile at the things that God doth, and muche lesse rise into thought & wonder at the things which the almighty in his eternall counsell foresheweth. One man findeth out another by the habite that they beare, but God iudgeth every one by the hart that he hath, yea, he leadeth the actions and effects of their lyfe, not according to their worldly appetite or wisdom, but as he hath preordained in his eternall presence, whereby it followeth, that in the soueraign and high tribunall of Iesus Christ, the truth of his iustice neuer was corrupted, nor the measure of hys mercy falsified. Therefore, if Iesus Christ communicated the kingdome of heauen to the theefe, he did it in these good reasons and considerations: firste because he confessed him to be Lord, he accompanied hym on the Crosse, he rebuked hys other companion, acknowledged himselfe to be wicked, dyed wyth Iesus Christ, and to him recommended himselfe: Oh infinite bountie and secret iudgements of G D D: seeing that in recompence of a few transitorie yeares wherein the theefe was a sinner in the worlde, the Lord was content

sent to be satisfied with the thre houres toherin he became a good man on the Crosse: yea, those thre houres onely, wherein he accompanied Iesus in hys passion, serued him more, than the thre yeares of the Apostleship of Iudas: and these houres being the last and extreamie seasons and respite of his temporall life, he employed so well, that the more he had sinned at leysure, wyth so muche more deuout diligence he repented, and so much the more sedainly aspired to his conuersion.

But lette vs nowe ioyne to the example of thys thæse, hys singular excellencies, and wythall lette it be a chiefe office in oure Christian duetie to knowe, that the foundation of our health and heauenly felicitie consisteth in the true faith we haue in Iesus Christ, by meanes whereof, as we ought to do our dutie, and thereby stande in grace to obtaine that we woulde or desire, so without this meane we cannot be saued, nor yet deserue to be called Christians.

Faith is the
ground of
our saluatio.

For, to be a Christian, is no other thing than to belæue in Iesus Christe our God, and serue him as our redæmer: and that this god thæse was made a Christian, it is a good argument to hold, that he woulde not haue answered for Iesus Christe, if he had not bene a friende to Iesus Christe, neither woulde he haue recommended hymselfe to him as to God, had he not belæued hym to be God: That this thæse was baptized, we make no doubt, but the maner and place of hys baptizing is to vs vnknowen: onely we may saye, that if there were want of water to perfoirme the ceremonie, there wanted no teares of the mother, nor bloud of the sonne to regenerate hym. At the baptisme of Christ, was onely S. Iohn but at þe conuersion of this thæse was Iesus himself, his mother, S. Iohn, Marie Magdalen, Nicodemus, & Ioseph, together with the inhabitantes of Ierusalem: vpon whych we may inferre, that in the house of God, more honour is reserued to god thæses than to wicked Emperours. This thæse was so good a Christian, and belæued with so greate zeale in Iesus Christe, that in faith, he surmounted all those that till then were dead, and wythall was no lesse equall to all suche as then liued. For, publicly and without feare he confessed Iesus Christe to be God, where all the others, eyther denyed hym, or doubted of hym. So muche the

The mother
of Christe.

Ibi fides nō
habet meri-
tum, vbi hu-
mana ratio
habet expe-
rimentum.

more merite hath the faith of a Christian (saith S. Gregorie) by how much lesse the reason of man hath force or vigoꝝ of it: so that the merit of our catholique faith consisteth not so much in things that the eye seeth, as in that the heart belieueth. But lette vs conferre a little the simple beleefe of this theefe, with the faith of those that were dead long afore him, and suche also as liued at the instant with him, and we shall finde, that by howe muche they excelled him in good life and conuersation, by so much did he requite it in the recompence of his faith and beleefe. Abraham had faith, but it was by the occasion that God spake to hym from heauen. Elay had faith, but it was because he hadde seene God in his maiestie. Moses had faith, but it was for that God did communicate with him in a bushe that burned, and was not consumed. Ezechiel had faith, but it was for that he hadde seene God enuironed with Seraphims. Great (sure) was the faith of these holy personages, but much greater (no doubt) was that of this sinfull theefe: for if they beleued in God, it was because they had seene him, and spoken face to face to him: but so simple and resolute was the faith of this theef, that he beleued Iesus Christ to be God, and had neither seene his maiestie, nor yet to do y^e woꝝkes of God: yea though Christe did them, yet he vnderstode them not. In like sorte touching hys comparison with suche as were then alieue. We doubt not but S. Peter hadde faith, but it was for that he sawe Christs marche vpon the waues of the Sea. Marie Magdalene beleued, but it was for that hee raised againe hir brother Lazarus. The woman of Chanaan hadde faith, but it was because she had seene him expell the wicked spirite out of the body of hir daughter. The Centurian beleued, because Iesus Christe hadde healed hys seruant. And Saint Iohn hadde faith, but it was because hee hadde reposed in the lappe and bosome of Christe. Right slender was the faith that these menne had, considering the wonders and miracles which they sawe Christe doe. But oh blessed and happy theefe, who notwithstanding he saw no action of these great wonders, neyther Christe to commaunde the waues, nor stay the windes, nor chace out Diuelles, nor yet raise the dead to life, yet with open voice, he confessed his creator, and toke hym for a redeemer: yea, in calling him Lord, he acknowledged that he had created

created him, and in crying to hym, to haue remembraunce of hym, he confessed that he had redeemed him: and therfore as a good and faithfull Christian, he beleued wyth his heart, and confessed wyth hys mouth.

What habite or apparance of a Lord saue he in Christe, when he saide to him: *Domine memento mei*: Yea, what argument of confidence or assuarance coulde he gather in him: seeing that to whome soeuer is called Lord, it appertaineth, that he be free, which was farre from Iesus Christe, being bounde to the Crosse. To be called Lord, it behoueth to be mightie, or at leaste competently rich, which appeared not in Iesus Christe being naked, dismembred, and crucified: to the pozte and name of a Lord belongeth greate traine and seruice, whiche was not expessed in the state of Iesus Christe, who was forsaken euen of hys owne followers: and to the dignitie and place of a Lord, belongeth to be well obeyed and honoured, whiche fell out contrarie in the person of Iesus Christe, for that euerye one conspired against hym, and opprobriously crucified hym betwæen two thæues: yea, by so much more worthy was the faith of this thæse, by how much he saw the Lord suffer imprisonment as a man, and whipped and scourged as a man, and yet confessed him to be God, and called him God, saying: Lorde haue remembraunce of me. Since this thæse was executed, and Iesus Christ crucified, greate hath bene the number of Saints that beleued in him, and greater the company and fellowship of martyrs that haue suffered for his faith. So that the example of the thæse beleuing vpon so small occasion, putteth all posterities in remembraunce howe iustely we are bounde to fire and settle our faith vpon the same sonne of God, whom the thæse acknowledged to be the sauour of the world. And as the writers of the Gospel make no mention of the race & nation of this thæse, neither what proportiõ of age he bare, what offences he had done, nor what law he held, for that to Pilate, the iudge being a *Romane*, belonged this prerogatiue, to crucifie indifferently the *Gentiles* and apprehend the *Iewes* but what mysterie soeuer may be ascribed to scripture for vsing silence in this case, let vs gather and beleue, that God is no accepter of persons, but receiuing all sorts that beleue in him, he maketh no difference in election, whether they be

God in his election maketh no difference of person, age, state, sexe, or calling. Here is verified the worde of God, that when the sinner hath contrition God will kepe no remembrance of his sins.

Matth. 26.
Actes. 5.

noble, or of base blood, poore or rich, conquerours or cap tines, infamous, or well renowned: only it sufficeth, that we repute Iesus Christ as our onely king, and obserue faithfully the precepts he hath left amongst vs: so that, of what sorte of sinners soeuer we be, and how late soeuer we come to the Crosse, let vs not despair to be heard, since we reade not, that to this thiefe was ministered eyther baptisme or confession, nor that he fasted, vnder restitution, nor had repentance, vntill he was committed to execution, when one slygh powred out in faith, sufficed to make him a Christian, and in one onely worde pronounced in hope, was vertue to translate hys soule into heauen. To robbe in infancie, to robbe in youth, and to robbe in olde age, the experience is daily before our eyes: but to robbe at the very article and instant of death, we neuer reade of any but of thys thiefe, who then stole the kingdome of heauen. Our originall father Adam was a thiefe, when he stole the Apple in Paradise. Fraire Rachael was a thiefe when she robbed the idolls from hir father Laban. Achior was a robber in stealing the robbe of golde in Hiericho. Dauid was a thiefe when he conveyed the lance and flasket of water from the beddes heade of Saule. Iudas was a thiefe in stealing the almes of Iesus Christ. And the seruantes of Dauid were none other than theues, when they stole the water in Bethelam. But amongst them all, none was more famous, more subtile, more notozious, nor more cunning, than this thiefe, who robbed, yea, afore he was laid vpon y Crosse, and being crucified: for Pilates taking from him his life on y crosse, he stole from Iesus Christ in the same place, an other life.

Wherevpon S Iohn Chrysostome speaking vpon that thiefe, saith, that for theft Adam was chased out of paradise, and for theft this thiefe was bestowed in Paradise: he that losse hys life by a tree wente out of Paradise, and this entred into Paradise that recouered his life vpon a tree: he was chased out that beloued not in God, and thys entred in, because he confessed God to be God: a thiefe was the firste that issued out of Paradise, and a thiefe was the firste that entred into Paradise: Yea, at the houre of mid-day, God did iustice of the firste thiefe, and at nonetpde he pardoned this thiefe: wyth whome the Lorde graunte vs to be theues, not to steale the Apple as did Adam, nor the idolles with Rachael, nor
the

the flasket as David did, nor the golden rodde with Achior : but to steale for our selues the blessed fruition of the Paierle of God, whyche beyng the praye of thys theefe, he is thereby become perpetually happy, euen in the bosome of Abraham, the Father of faith.

The good these hauing none other thing to offer to God, offered him his heart and his tongue.

Saint Paule, hauing seene the greate secrets of God (of whych it belongeth not to mā to speake) being asked what we ought to do to please God, answered : *Commendat vobis Deus charitatem suam* : the chiefest thyng (sayeth he) which God recommendeth vnto you, is charity which consisteth in this, that you loue him, as he loueth you, which you shall more easily accomplishe, if you loue your Christian neighbour, not so much for that he loueth you, as for that he loneth and delighteth in God. Wherein the Apostle doth not so expressely say, that God recommendeth vnto vs, hys faith, his hope, patience, his chastitie, and hys humilitie : but aboue all things, he enioyneth vs to haue charity, as thereby to giue vs to vnderstande, that that manne that delighteth truely in God, cannot be reproued of any vice. For, what can be lackyng to hym that wanteth not charity, as also who wanteth charity, is imperfekte in al other vertues :

Wee ought to loue our neighbour for that hee loueth God

Let the charitable man, and he that delighteth to be pitiful, be assured, that God wil alwayes lend hym his hande, to the end he decrease not in faith, lose not his hope, defile not his chastitie, despise not humilitie, nor forget patience. For afore the tribunall & iudgemēt seat of God, is neuer vsed cruelty to him, that on earth hath exercised charity. *Si charitatem non habeo, factus sum sicut sonans aut cymbalum tinniens*, saith the Apostle : though I speake (saith he) as an Angel, and all other vertues (excepte charity) were familiar wyth me, yet I shoulde be but as a Bell, that calleth the

He that loueth God cannot perishe.

1. Cor. 13.

Golden Epistles.

Charitas est
cum dili-
mus Deum
propter se, &
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propter De-
um.

The man of
God loueth
not his nei-
bor for any
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pecte, but
for God.

people to seruice, and yet entreth not therein it selfe. The man then that is not charitable, but taketh delight in his rigor, is no way worthie of the name of a Christian, and much lesse deserueth to be called friend, because that in the heart, wherein is not lodged charitie, shall neuer be founde fidelitie. If we aske the Scripture what thing Charitie is, we shall finde by many texts, that it is a vertue drawing to none other effecte, than to loue God for himselfe, and our neighbour for the loue of God, whereupon the loue of God and the feare of God ought alwayes so to be coupled wythin the harts of the iust, that we neuer ought to feare God, onely, to the ende he preserue vs from hell, nor loue him altogether in this respect, that he graunte vs Paradise: but we ought both to loue and feare him, because he is the supreme and soueraigne God, and on whome dothe depende and come all felicitie. If men loue one another, it is either for benefite already receyued, or for hope of good turnes to come: but in the house of God, there is no sufferance nor custome of such affections. For such is the nature, measure, and proportion of Gods goodnesse towards vs, that the respects and intention of our zeale ought not to consist, onely for that he is all in all for vs, but because the greatnesse of his goodnesse deserueth it, by whyche occasion the Prophete cryed oftentimes, *Paratum cor meum*, the better to instruct vs, that his heart was not onely ready to loue the Creator, but also to beare affection to the creature. That man is ignorant in charitie, who esteemeth hymselfe to loue God, & hath no care of his neighbour: and lesse is he a follower of charitie that is reputed to beare affection to his neighbour, and loueth not God, since that all our Christian charitie consisteth in this, to doe seruice to Iesus Christe, and worke some good or benefite to our neighbor. For the Lorde beareth such a zeale to the Christian soule, that in louing vs he will be alone and singular, and when we loue hym, he will be accompanied: the same being contrarie to the loue of the worlde, wyth whome it is not suffered to haue the heart diuided into manye partes, but in the diuine loue and holy affection of the Lorde, we are required to loue Iesus Christe, and haue care ouer oure neighbour, specially if he be a Christian: for, other wise we ought to wishe vnto hym good, and eschew his conuersation.

This

This discourse haue I brought in, to expresse and testifie the wonderfull charitie whiche the good thers hadde on the Crosse, who in the perplexitie of death, and in a small moment of time, gaue good declaration of the affection he bare to Iesus Christe, and rightly published the zeale he had to saue his companion the wicked thers: besides, he was not without seruent desire to relieue hys sauour of the paines he suffered, which he wel testified in the seruice he did to him. For, dissembled loue is shewed in the propertie of speech, where the true friendship and affection is exprest in the seruice and giftes that are ministred: the same appearing (for the moste parte) amongst our vaine worldings, wyth whom swete and alluring wordes are familiar, but the office and effecte of seruice, are moste commonly forgotten: where indeede, whose loue is chaste, and ioyned with the holy lone of God, there, their mouths keepe silence, and their handes minister distribution. Caine offered to God frutes of the earth. Abel brought firstlings, and of the fattest of his flocke. Noe presented nuttons. Abraham gaue Pigeons. Melchisedech brought breade and wine. Moses incense. David gold and siluer. Iephtha sacrificed his daughter. And Annas Samuel his sonne. All whych offerings presented by those holy personages, beare greate reckoning, and are much to be accompted of: but farre more worthie was the seruice and sacrifice of this thers, for that, where they offered to God things appertaining to their houses, he presented to the Lord hys proper heart, wherein he discovered a difference betwene the oblation of things that we haue neare vs, & to make an offering of our selues. Therfore lette no man maruaile why I debate so much in praise of thys thers. For, if I be asked what it was that he offered, I maye effsones make a question what it was that he kept for himselfe. When one man giueth to an other his proper beynge, doeth he not geue by consequence, his will and abilitie? Thys thers gaue not to God his eyes, for that they were closed vp and shutte: he gaue hym not golde nor siluer, hauing losse all by the iustice of hys offence: he coulde not comparte wyth hym his clothes, being rifled by the executioners: he offered hym not his hands and fete, for that the one were nailed, and the other bound: and muche lesse could he communicate wyth hym his body, for that it was crucified:

only

Golden Epistles.

Psalm 119.

onely he offered that whyche he had remaining, whyche was hys heart, wherewith he beleued: and hys tongue by the whyche he confessed him to be God. So that as he testified his faith and affection towarde God, wyth all that he had in his power, so we haue to thinke, that if there had remained in him anye propertie of more precious or greater things, he woulde therewith haue made seruice and offerings to the Lorde, *Multiplicati sunt super capillos capitis mei. Et cor meum dereliquit me.* I am fallen into that age (saith Dauid) that I haue no more sight remaining. Mine enemies haue inuironed me, my friends are dead, my sinnes haue made me fall, and my good dayes are now drawne to end, so that my griefes and sorrowes, and perplexities, are moe in number, than my haire, but my greatest heauinesse of all, is, that my hart hath forsaken me. Who loseth his eyes, and the other particular partes of his body together with all his goodes, can not but lose right deare and greate things, but he that loseth his heart, loseth assuredly all that can remaine or appertaine to a man. For that wythin the wombe of our mothers, the heart is the firste that ingendreth and taketh life, and the last that dissolueth and vanissheth to death: so that, like as so long as our hearts leaue vs not, we may both loue, feare, and serue God: so also, if the heart lose hys vigo, and giue vs ouer, assuredly we haue neither power nor faculty to fast, pray, or perseuer in breath. And therfore (according to Saint Hierome) it is a great gifte of God to be endued with a constant and valiant mind: as on the other side, to haue faintnesse of heart and pusillanimitie, can not but beare testimonie and p'ouise of greate punishment. *Audi popule, Audi qui non habes cor,* (saith God by his Prophet Ieremie:) Heare my voice, Oh generation of Israel, and hearken to my wordes, Oh people of the Hebrewes. I call thee foole, because thou arte without heart, yea, I say thou haste no hearte, because thou arte a foole. Where the Prophet in this phrase charged the people to haue no hearte, he imposed vppon them infidelitie, as though they had neyther faith nor belife in Iesus Christe the true God, because that, like as when the heart dyeth, the life dissolueth, euen so by Christe aspyring vppon the Crosse, the Synagogue toke ende. So that the Prophet was not wythout great reason to call the Hebrewes foles, and

By the deat^h
of Christe
the syna-
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tooke end.

and men without heart, seeing the testimonie of so many miracles sufficed them not, & much lesse were they satisfied wyth the number of benefices and blessings, wyth infinite sermons performed by our saviour Iesus Christe, all tending to make them Christians, and yet wrought smal impression in them by reason of their slender knowledge, and great follie: euen so, according to moztall phrase, when we say any man hath want of hart, it is as much as if we shoulde charge hym not to haue Iesus Christ in hys spirite: for that as vnder taking to doe any good worke, Iesus Christ is he that giueth vs heart, & putteth vs in reason: euen so by good conclusion, that man (we may say) is depriued of reason, and vnfurnished of hart, which loueth not Christ, thinketh not on Christ serueth him not, feareth him not, and hopeth not in him, so that in the lawe of God, to call a man without heart; is no other thyng than to say, he hath a bodie without a soule. *Omni custodia custodi cor tuum.* (saith the wise man.) Euery one ought to keepe and double garde his heart, to the ende it be not defiled by the flethe, oppressed of the worlde, deceiued by the diuell, and that it be not altogether exercised by his friend, nor outraged by his enemie. For that, euen so much, and no more haue we in Iesus Christ, than we giue vnto him possession and place in our heart: wherein, according to the measure of our confidence in God, we shall finde recompence & retribution in hym: yea, if we giue our selues altogether to him, he wil assuredly be wholly ours, so that at those thinges which the Lord giueth vnto vs being holy hart, or vnfained, it belongeth to vs (the better to prepare our offerings to God; euen from our hearts, fired in our heart, & vnfainedly to touch our hart) to keepe our hearts alwayes replenished with holy desires, & environed with good thoughts. For which occasion it sufficed not the wiseman, to bid vs simply keepe our heartes: but he enioyned vs to a double & diligent guard; the better to aduertise vs, that as the eyes may be preserued by their eye lids, the mouth defended by the lippes, the feete and hands kept from harme by armour and gantlets, and a mans treasure holden from the theefe vnder locke and key: so there can nothing in this worlde suffice to forbidde an ambitious mind to thinke and desire. And so falling estsones vpo our first matter, I say, that much doth that man offer to God, that offereth

Golden Epistles.

Christe re-
quireth but
the offering
of our hart.

offereth his heart: as also what hath he more to lose that loseth his heart: the same appearing in the conuersion of this good thers, who, euen as he hanged vpon the Crosse, because he offered to God onely his heart, founde this recompence, to be carried into the eternall tabernacle of God, and to communicate in hys glorie. Let then the example of thys thers stande before vs all, that notwithstanding we haue not handes, fete, eyes, siluer, gold, pretious iewels, or cloths to offer to God, yet let vs not be troubled or grieved: for, who hath not these things in his power, let him not doubt to be acceptable to the Lorde, if he present his heart replenished with holy desires. The sister of Moses was diseased, Moles himself stutted, Tobias was blinde, Mephisobeth was lame, and Zacharias the Priest was dumbe, yet these imperfections hindered not these men to be holy and vertuous, yea God called some of them to the function and ministerie of his will. If we haue our hartes whole, holy, and sound, the Lord obserueth litle the state of our other members, no, he maketh no care whether they be perfect or putrified. For, thys thers, in hys sentence of condemnation and death, hadde hys limmes bzused and broken, hys mouth, his eyes, and whole bodie crucified: but hys heart onely retaining integrity, he offered it to his sauiour, and by hys faith and constancie, purchased the benefite of saluation. And albeit, in so small a respite of time, in so quicke and sharpe tormentes: and in so gracious apprehension of the bolours and ferours of death, suffered by thys thers on the crosse, he coulde perfourme no greate penance, expresse no varietie or copie of speech, or vtter apparant remorse by sighes, sorrowe, or publique contrition: yet, for that, to his passions he ioined greatnesse and constancie of heart, with faith and deuotion to God, the Lorde dyd accept, not onely that whych he did then, but also what he woulde haue doine, if he hadde not bene preuented by death.

How

Howe vickedly the euill theeſe ſpake hanging

on the Crolle.

He wicked theeſe, ſpeaking to Jeſus Chriſt ſaide: If thou be that ſame Chriſt that is the ſonne of God, deliuer thy ſelfe from death, and vs from this paſſion of torments. **C**urſed impudencie to pronounce ſuche horrible blaſphemie againſte the Maieſtie of our Sauour: For, albeit the ſonne of God was committed to the Crolle, and in the companie of robbers did ſuffer a ſlaunderous death: yet it was not for that he had any communitie wth the offences of the theues, and muche leſſe ſuffered for hys proper crimes, but for the finnes of the worlde, *Qui non rapuit tunc exſoluebam*: I make (ſaith Chriſt by the Prophet) ſatisfaction for the faultes done by others, others haue eaten the Apple, and yet I paye the price of it: though I haue no crime, yet mine innocencie is put to puniſhment: Yea, where others haue troubled the common weale, I am committed to juſtice, and having no nature or effecte of offence in mee, yet I paſſe vnto death for the finnes of the whole worlde: Right iuſte was the occaſion of our ſauour to hold ſuch argument: for that, if they crucified him vnder a moſt ſmarting and infamous death, it was not for ſe he had deſerued it, but to ſe he end, that by it mankind ſhoulde be redeemed. **T**hys theeſe ſaide not wth ſuretie, that hee was Chriſte, and therefore, by making wicked doubt and queſtion whether he were the ſon of God or not, he deſerued not (wth hys companion) to be made a Chriſtian: But the good theeſe, making no doubt of his omnipotencie, ſaide abſolutely Lorde haue remembraunce of mee, and therefore was not onely adopted to Chriſtianitie, but alſo there was ioyned to hys faith, recompence of eternall ſaluation. In the ſame manner Saint Peter ſayde not, If thou bee Chriſte, I will belecue in thee, but hee proteſted in bolde ſayth, and cryed, I belecue that thou arte the Sonne of the euerliuing God. For who w^{ll} receyue the grace and bleſſing of G O D, hys faith oughte to be w^{thout} ſcruple or doubt. Hee that will obtaine anye thing of G O D,

Howe wickedly the euill theeſe ſpake hanging on the Crolle.

(ſaith

Golden Epistles.

(saith y^e Apostle) it appertaineth to him that asketh it with a faith that is not doubtfull. For if God giue vs not forthwith that whiche we demaunde him, it is more for that we knowe not howe to aske him, than that he is harde to graunt our requests. Let it then be farre from vs to say with the wicked theefe, If thou be Christe saue thy selfe and vs also: but let vs rather wyth the blinde man of Hiericho say, O Son of David haue pitie vpon vs. For, so shal we be made to see with the blind man, and not carried into damnation with the theefe: who, in saying to Christe, *Salua me ipsum & nos*, thought to perswade him to leaue the passions of the crosse, and put himselfe in libertie, and deliuer him from death. For this was the opinion of this wicked theefe, that euen as Pilate put on hym the sentence of death for his thefts and robberies: euen so also there was no lesse guiltinesse in Christ as being vniually holden a seducer of the people, and a man contrarie to the common weale: and therfore he thought, that as the terrors of death made him vntwilling to die, so also there remained in Christe a desire to liue longer: wherein his error was so much the greater, by howe much he considered, that there was necessitie of Christes death for the redemption of the worlde: for which cause though he wished to liue longer, yet our sauour desired the present stroke of death, according to his owne wordes to his disciples: *Desiderio desiderauit hoc pascha manducare uobiscum*. At other times (saith he) I haue celebrated with you this feast, the whiche at this present I esteeme to bee truely passeouer in holy Scripture. The doubling and reiteration of a worde, is a signe of a vehement, and great desire, the whyche was well expressed in the zeale of our sauour, who by this phrase, *Desiderio desiderauit* published manifestly that he hadde no lesse desire to die for vs, than most desirous to redeeme vs. For of that nature was his thirst and desire to overcome our perpetuall death, that he expected nothing more than the houre wherein he might employ for vs his most holy and vndefiled life. There was greate similitude and likenesse betweene the blasphemie of this wicked theefe, and the request of the *leues*, who willed hym to descend from the Crosse, and they woulde all beleue in hym: wherevnto, if our sauour had condescended and abandoned the agonies of the Crosse, al the worlde had stood crucified with death, sinne,

sinne, and the perpetuall perpleritics of hell. Oh wicked these: oh people hardened and obstinate: If Chyriste had come downe from the Crosse according to your requests, or if he had diuided himselfe from the paines of death, solowing the blasphemous motion of the condemned these, much lesse had it bene happy wyth anye sorte of people, but of the contrarie, hel hadde bene alwayes open for you, and the gates of Paradise perpetually closed against our posterities. For, the Lorde came not to descende, but to mounte and ascend, not to eschue the Crosse, but to dye vpon it. *Cum exaltatus fuero à terra, omnia traham ad meipsum*, sayth our Lorde Iesus Chyriste: Because now I go preaching from one Countrey to an other, and that I haue my riches dispersed, you can not haue knowledge of my might, nor of the vertue and benefites that are in my power: but when you see mee elected and chosen to the Crosse, euen in the same place shall bee my treasure. This speech truly is of greate admiration for the god sorte, and leaueth no little feare to the wicked: *Omnia traham ad meipsum*, by the which we are instructed, that who will obtaine anye thing of Iesus Chyrist, ought to aske it vpon the Crosse. For, neuer was the Lord so liberall, as when he was crucified, at no time so rich as when he was naked, nor at any time so mightie as when he was condemned to death, all these treasures did Chyriste bzing wyth hym from heauen to earth, and from the earth he recarried them with him to the tre of his suffering, and being there he dispersed them thorough out the wo:ld: so that he that is founde moze neare the Crosse of our sauour, on him is bestowed the most plentifull rewarde. It was on the Crosse that he recommended hys soule to his father, his Church to S. Peter to Nicodemus his bodie, and to the god these the ioyes of Paradise. It was on the Crosse that he commaunded the sunne to hide his light, the stones to breake, the baile of the Temple to rent, the graues to open, and the deade to rise againe: (whyche carryeth an assured testimonie, that in his death was wrought the effect of our life.) It was on the crosse that he spake to his Father, gaue comforte to hys mother, had remembraunce of hys Disciple, pardoned the beleauing these, and illumined the Centurian, to the end he might knowe Iesus Chyriste to be the redeemer, and confesse himselfe a sinner.

It was on the Crosse, where his side was opened, his blood shed, where he shewed moste plentifully his charitie, expressed moste mildely his patience, and bled greatest clemencie: yea, it was the place where his death tooke ende, and our redemption receiued beginning. Lastly, vpon the Crosse he was crowned as king, saluted as king, & hayled with title of king: so that al these being true, howe coulde it stande with anye congruent reason, that hee shoulde abandon the Crosse, which brought to hym so many pre-eminences? Oh soueraigne sauour and lone of our soules, lette vs not beseech thee wyth the *Iewes*, to descend from the Crosse, nor in the corrupt affection of the theese, to abandon the paines thereof: but graunt (Oh Lorde) that wyth thee we may be ioyned to the Crosse: where, lette vs not require that thou giue vs to eate, since in that place thou haddest but gall, and for thy drinke was reserued moste sharpe vineger: let vs not require garmentes, since thou wast all naked: lette vs not craue libertie, since thou wast bounde: and much lesse haue we reason to intreate for life, since thou diddest not refuse the execution of death. That whiche we haue to require of thee, is, that it wil please thee to giue vs part and communion in this Crosse, since in it, thou hast with suche plentie bestowed thy graces. For well we know (Oh Lord) that thou doest neuer communicate thy loue and affection, but to such as taste of thy paines and passions. By all this discourse we may gather, what heart we ought to haue to enterpryse any good work, togiether wyth what magnanimitie of courage to execute it, seeing that euen when we meane to beginne to do wel, wicked spirites are then moste neare vs, and readiest prepared to deceiue vs. For the flesh doth picke and quicken vs, menne drawe vs backe, and the worlde worketh to our vexation and trouble. Albeit manye were the occasions in Iesus Chyriste being on the Crosse, to abandon death: as firste the importunities of the *Iewes*, the persuasions of the theese, the bitter agonies of death, the sorowes of the daughters of *Hierusalem*, the scoynes and scoffes of straungers passing that way, and lastly, the small thanks and recompence that men attributed to hym for that passion: yet they were not sufficient to tempt him from the execution of his fathers commaundement, nor to lette hym to accomplishe all that wherevnto his charitie bound

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bounde him, for the fulfilling of our redemption. For, when he saide on the Crosse, I am a thurst, it was not for any appetite he hadde to drinke, but he spake it rather in a vehement wil and desire to endure yet more for the health of our soules.

The good theefe rebuked his fellow hanging on the Crosse.



The good theefe hearing the wicked discourse of hys companion againste Iesus Christe, could not but minister this rebuke. Weighing (saith he) with the horror of oure life paste, our present estate drawing to the extremitie of death, I maruaile that thou hast no feare of God, and arte without shame of that thou sayest, seeking to crucifie thys Prophete wyth thy tongue, as these raging tormentors do with the violence of their handes. Oh thou knowest not, that as thys innocent neuer didde ill to any : so in thee and mee was neuer founde anye good. Fewe were the wordes whyche thys theefe spake, but right greate mysteries are touched in them, and therefore it is needefull that we heare them wyth grauitie, and pronounce them in charitie. And albeit it is mosse sure, that God the almightie creatoꝝ, is by power, al in al things : yet particularly by grace is he more manifested by the hart and tong of mā, than throughe anye other member of the bodye, as they beyng the two instrumentes wherewith we doe mosse serue him, and oftentimes offende hym. For, the eyes become wearie wyth seying, the eares wythdꝛawe from hearing, the handes refuse to worke, the fete forbear to goe, and the whole bodie maye be griued to sinne, : but it is the hearte whyche neuer putteth ende to hys thoughtes, and the tongue is seldome wearie of speaking.

Neque tu times deum qui in eadē damnationes : nos quidem digni facis recipimus, hic autem quid mali fecisti?

God is more manifested in the heart & tongue, than by anye other member of the bodie.

The good king David was vpight in iudgement and sounde of bodie, and yet praying to God (for the most part) he obserued these two petitions : *Cōm mūdum crea in me Deus, And, Domine*

E. ij.

labia

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Signes and
testimonies
of a good
Christian.

labia mea aperies. Wherein he required of God, to raise in hym a heart cleare and innocent, and also to blesse hym with a tongue that shoulde not pronounce any thing, contrarie to hys will. For albeit he receiued griefs and disquiets by his other members, yet he knewe he could neuer be vanquished of them, for that it is one principall signe that we are in the grace of God, when he blesseth vs with a heart replenished with pure intentions, and giueth vs a tongue refrained from speaking euill: yea, it is a true foundation and testimonie of good Christians, to beleue in God with our heart, and sette forth his praises wyth our tongue. Much was the people of *Israel* in the grace of God, when by *Ieremie* he sayde to them, *Ego dabo eis cor nouum.* And no lesse favoured was *Ezechiel* of that almightie worker of all things, when he saide, *Ego aperiam os tuum in medio eorum,* as if he had saide to *Israel*, In signe of the greate amitie I haue with thee, I will illumine thy heart: and because thou arte my seruant (*Oh Ezechiel*) I wil open thy mouth, to the end thou maiest publish and preach my power and might: For right small is the number of those which attain to my knowledge, and farre fewer are they that preache sincerely my name. Yea, albeit a man haue the facultie to reade, to interpreate, to studie, and to deliuer, yet he hath not for all that, the full facultie of a true apostolike preacher. For, it is no small gift and blessing of the Lorde, to knowe howe to preach well and pronounce hys worde and will. Create therefore was the liberalitie which Christ vled on the Crosse, saying that the grace of newnesse of heart whych he gaue to *Israel*, and the spirite and power of well preaching, whych he imparted to *Ezechiel*, he infused both together into thys good thase, touching his heart to make him beleue in him, and opening his mouth, to the end he might publishe and preach his name. By which is happened, that after the sermons of *Iesus Christe*, and before the preachings of the Apostles, this good thase was the firste that preached in the Church: yea, euen where he was crucified, and in the presence of the people, he magnified that whych *Christe* didde, and reprimed hys companion of blasphemie, saying: *Neque tu times Deum qui in eadem damnatione est:* I see (saith he) thou haste no feare of God, and art in the way to be damned, therefore behold me, and thinke vppon thy

thy selfe. To teache the ignorant, and reduce to trueness him that is in error, is a worke of charitie proceeding of greate bountie, which was exprest in the behauiour of this these warning bys companion to consider that he was condemned to death, hauing by his side the sonne of God in whome was power to pardon bys offences, and withall to deliuer him from the perpetuall agonies of hell. Oh to how many of our companions and friends may we say with this good these, that they are out of the feare of god, that they wander in their proper destruction, that they are replenished with vices, and do not obserue one of Gods commaundementes. But, by so much more wretched is our condition, by how much more one friende dare not warne another, for that all friendship now a dayes stands vpon these limites and tearmes, not to correct one another, but rather to couer and dissemble, and suffer communitie of euill. It is a wonderfull confusion to see one sinner admonish another, and a these to reprove a these, and yet one christian dare not rebuke another: nay, rather they will endure their vices, than deuide themselves from their friendship. Not to aduertise a friend of his honour, or not to aduise him of his wealth, may happen, and is suffered: but not to admonishe him of that which concerneth his conscience, is hateful, and ought not to be borne with all: for that in things touching the honour of God, we are bound not to dissemble with our father, nor to yeeld consent to our dearest friends. Nathan reproveth Dauid, Samuel rebuked Saule, Micheas admonished Achab, Helias reproveth Iezabel, S. Iohn rebuked Herode, and S. Paule reproveth S. Peter, not so much for hauing erred and failed, as for offending God: the better to admonish vs, that him we ought to holde as enimie, whom we know doth not loue God. *Nonne qui oderunt te inimici facti sunt tibi?* Oh great God of Israel, (sayth Dauid) the greatest seruice that I haue done thee, is, that al my life time I haue hated those that loued not thee, eschewed such as followed not thy lawes, was a straunger to such as searched not thy preceptes, and none haue bene worse welcome to my companie, than such as bare to thee no seruice. I woulde the example of Dauid mighte be embraced now a dayes, or that to christian friendes were ioyned suche propertie of affection, so shoulde there be no vice in mennes friendshippe, nor tolleracion

Mans frend-
shipp is
maintayned
by supporta-
tion of vices

2. Reg. 12.
2. Reg. 10

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of wickednesse, for that if euill men were not supported by their friends, iustice and discipline would either spee-
dily determine their liues, or shame and instruction leade
them to amendment of manners. Create then was the charitie
of this theefe to his companion, and the pittie not little which he
had of Iesus Christ, whereof as he defended the one, and perswa-
ded the other, so his vertue concludes in good authoritie, that it
is a true effect of our Christian pietie, to yeelde compassion to such
as are troubled, and reduce him that is out of the way. After this
god theefe was committed to God, and confessed his sinnes to Je-
sus Christe, and answered for him, he began then to lift by his
voyce, and saye vnto him: *Domine memento mei cum veneris in reg-
num tuum*. Wherein, with iust reason, he calles him Lord, for that
it is resolute with God, not to take pittie or mercy vpon vs, if first
we acknowledge not him in his diuinitie: and therefore in the
olde times when God spake with the Hebrewes, he bled common-
ly this phrase, *Hec dicit Dominus*, &c. the better to aduertise the
nations and people of the earth, that all Kinges and Princes of
this world are in all thinges, no other thing but gouernours and
deputies, and to God alone belonges all soueraigne and su-
preme potentacie: in which respect it becometh vs afore all
thinges, to confesse God to be father and soueraigne Lord, and to
honour his blessed sonne by the name of Lord and Redemer, for
that it is directly to repugne his ordinarie power to pardon sinne
in any man, which doth not acknowledge in God predominacion
and Lordship, Let vs therefore, with the humilitie, sayth, and
conformitie of this theefe, saye: *Domine memento mei*. For this
oughte to be an office in our beleefe, that if we confesse God
to be sole creator, and serue him as our soueraigne Lord, he will
not misknowe vs as straungers, speciallly if we acknowledge
vs to appettayne vnto him. The seconde worde of this Theefes
petition was, *Alememento mei*, agreeing with the inuocation of Sa-
lomon, *Da mihi sedum tuarum assistens sapientiam, ut sciam quid
acceptum sit coram te omni tempore*: Giue me, O Lorde, parte in
thy wisdom, to the ende I maye doe the thinges agreeable to
thee, and tending to my saluation. Notwithstanding that Salo-
mon amongst all the Kinges of Iherusalem, was in the peacea-
ble,

ble, most rich, renowned, and most wise: yet, with all these qualities, he durst not demaunde of God, but wisdom, and that not without great reason. For albeit a man knoweth that whiche he would haue, yet he is ignorant in that whiche is necessary for him. And as we liue in God more than in our selues, and that God loues vs aboue our proper affections, so, it is hee that knoweth better then our selues what we would haue of him, and what we want and is needefull for vs: for which cause this well aduised and good Christian theſe would aske no other thing, but that the Lord would haue remembraunce of him, instructing vs by that that God bearing to vs such plentiful will and affection, there is no great neede to trouble him with importunities; but only with a feruent heart put him in remembraunce of those things we desire to haue, saying: *Dominus memento mei*, Lorde that hast created me, haue remembraunce of me, Lorde that haste redeemed mee forget mee not, and thou Lorde in whome I beleue, bee mindfull of mee: Vouchsafe Oh Lorde to drawe me to thy selfe: O thou loue of my soule, haue remembraunce of me, since thou haste formed me of earth, and breathed into me a soule, made me man, hast employed thy life for me, vouchsafe to be mindful of me, to the end there be no spoyle made of my soule: yea, since thou hast suffered thy passion for mee, resisted so manye temptations, and spilt so much of thine innocent blood, as satisfied the pryce of my vile and wretched finnes, I beseeche thee bee mynde full of mee.

Here is to be noted, that this theſe, in these humilities to GOD, sayde not: Lorde haue remembraunce of my children, my wife, my friendes, or my labours and trauals, but sayde onely, Lord remember me: aduising vs, that in this world there is nothing which we ought to holde so deare, as the reckoning of our conscience according to the expresse text of our saviour, to þ mother & children of zebedei, *Nescitis quid petatis*: because that afore they asked pardon for their finnes, they demanded Realmes and Kingdomes; and before they sought to purge the transgression of their soules, they aspired to be set one of the right and the other of the lefte hand of Iesus Christe. But the wise Chanaanite woman, afore she sayde *Filia mea male a demonio vexatur*, cryed, *Miserere mei*,

E. iij.

mei,

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me, suing first for pardon for his selfe, before he soughte the recoverye of his daughter: for that so good is the Lorde our God, that if he loue not him that requires him: he graunteth him not that he demaundes. But thrice happie was this theefe, who afore all things desired the Lorde to haue remembraunce of him when he came into his kingdome: whereby, demaunding pardon and remission of his sinnes, he obtained the kingdome of heauen more easily than he thought for: Abraham demaunded of God lynage, and there was giuen to him a sonne (of whose race Christ descended according to the flesh:) Iacob prayed for the redelinerie of Benjamin, which he saw accomplished. Tobias beseeching God for the returning of his sonne from *Ninues*, embraced him safely restored, and richely married. Iudith prayed to God to chase away Holofernes and his campe from his towne of *Bethulia*, and he putte the enimie into his power. Anna in great compassion desired issue and she brought forth Samuel the *Prophete*: and loe, this good theefe besought GOD to haue remembraunce of him in the other worlde, and the Lorde did not onely pardon him in this worlde, but also glorified him in his eternall kingdome. Righte true and absolute is the testimonie of the Scripture, speaking of the liberalitie of God, *Quod ipse dat omnibus affluenter*, God giues to all men great aboundance. Which is contrarie to the manner of the Princes of the worlde, who if they giue, it is not in plentie, and if they distribute in fulnesse, they giue it to fewe. But such is the bountie and blessed liberalitie of our Lorde, that he refuseth not to giue that which is demaunded, and much lesse giues in penurie & which is required of him. *Aperis tu manum tuā & implet omne animal benedictione*. All those in this worlde, (saith the *Prophete*) that giue any thing, giue it close fisted, (as the saying is) but the Lord alwayes increaseth in liberalitie, with his handes open: who, as he is pitifull to pardon, so also in his rewardes and recompence, hee expresseth high liberalitie. Here also is to be noted, that this theefe in his inuocation to Christ, did not desire the Lorde to haue remembrance of him, so the ende he were not crucified, nor requyred, him to be mindefull of him & he might escape the perils of death, since it was he onely that gaue life: but he saide onely, Lorde forgette me not when thou comest into thy Kyngdome:

For, seeing thee on thy knees afore Pilate, (sayth hee) and being asked whether thou were a king and had realmes, I heard thee answer, that thy kingdome was not of this worlde. Which being true, I beseech thee, oh swete comforte of my soule, that when thou arte in possession of thy kingdome of rest, thou wilt then haue remembrance of me, being the greatest sinner in the world. This thee, seeing God in presence, hearing him speake in person, and touching him with his handes, and woulde not demaunde of him other things than of this world to come, cannot but put men in a maze, and drawe euen angels to admiration. From the houre that our blessed Saviour suffered his blood to be dispersed vpon the crosse, there hath bene great effect and vertue of it in the Church, whereof appeared right good testimonie in the discourse and action of this thee, whose life and whole course of his behauiour, hauing bene infected with wicked conuersation, hee demaunded presently to be made a neighbour of the heauenlie Hierarchies, and companion to our redeemer: and hauing done no seruice to God, hee asked of him (with full mouth) the kingdome of heauen, whiche hee obtained, not so much through the merite of his inuocation and prayers, as by the meane and vertue of the blood of Iesus Christe: wherein there is no reason to doubt but as our Lorde was ready to yelde vpon the spirite, and that the effusion of his blood prepared to an end, so, this god thee sawe the heauens open together with the great glorie layde vpon our Saviour, by which occasion hee cried in suertie of sayth: *Memento mei cum ueneris in regnum tuum.* For otherwayes it had been in vaine for a thee to haue demaunded with such boldnesse the kingdome of infallible felicitie. But whether the maiestie and presence of heauen were open to him or not, there is no necessitie of reasoning: surely let vs ioine our selues to his faith and opinion, and with his prayer let vs call vpon the Lorde, to remember vs when hee commes into his kingdom: for, there may wee be sure hee will remember vs, since in this world hee will not recompence the seruices y we haue done vnto him, and in the other hee will lay vpon vs the offences wee haue committed against his maiestie. Let vs beseeche him, that if in recompence that wee are baptized, if for the renoume, name, and title wee beare of Christians, if so that wee were his seruantes,

A discourse, expounding this Text of
this Psalm.

*Irascimini & nolite peccare, Be angrie and
sinne not.*



Christ, growing still with the increase of
abuses in the temple, saw great necessity of
discipline, and therefore in one day, he
whipped out the usurers, reuered those ex-
chaunges, and dispeared their treasures.
Wherin we haue to note whiche of these
two things were of most importance; ey-
ther the zeale that Christ had, or the faulte
that was in them, being sure that men committing such
and miserable sinnes, God for recompence, sendes vpon vs great
and heauie punishments. To hold that Christ was not moued to
doe this by a spirite of good zeale, were to falsifie the truth: and to
say that in this that he did, he did euill, cannot be without im-
putation of blasphemie. For, in the eternall iudgement of God it can
not holde conoord or comparison, to be a sinner, and to be called
redemer. Before S. Iohn sayd *Ecce Agnus Dei*, he pronounced, *Ece
de qui tollis peccata mundi*: wherein he both confesseth him an vnder-
stod lambe, and after extolles him to take away the sinnes of the
world. One sinner may helpe to make an other good, but yet hath
he no power to pardon the least offence that is: and therefore to
affirme, that Christ in any his actions was pushed forwarde by
choler, or sinned in the transgression of ire, it were both heresie,
and a sinne desperate: for that, as touching sinne, and error, our
Lorde was so limited and restrained, that he neither coulde nor
hadde power thereunto. By this text of the prophet, *Irascimini &
nolite peccare*, is giuen to vnderstande, that we may be angrie, but
yet with this condition that wee sinne not: For, often tymes
the Lorde is more wroth with the vice of the Magistrate, or
gouernour, then with the offence which the subiecte commits:
I finde it very harde that this good Prophet should giue us
counsaile to be angrie, and yet to bynde vs that in it wee shoulde not
sinne

Golden
epistle from
nolite peccare
aggrauatio

Psalm. 4.

Nothing is
more swete
than passion
of reuenge.

sinne, especially, seeing that of the mortall sinnes condemned by the church, the transgression of ire is one: yea, it seemes more strange that it should bee in the hand and libertie of our thoughts inclining to anger, can not bee without sinne. Whereby I holde it rather a vertue of Angels, than a power humane, when a man that is iniured is able to limit his passion, and gouerne the affections of his hart, seeing that to the nature of man nothing is more swete than the passion of reuenge: yea oftentimes wee are vniuersall to requite a good for euill, but seldome doe wee forgette to reuenge an iniurie receiued. But it is needfull wee deduce in particular, those things wherein (in good conscience) men may be angrie, and that without scruple of sinne: for that by howe muche more they were friends and entertained amitie together, by so much more the offence, the anger, and the sinne, (which seemes but a dreame) would put amongst them diuorce and diuision. Wee may not bee angrie against such as maliciously touch our honour, or by ambition aspire to our goods: for that to the noble minde it belongs to demaunde his recoverie by iustice, and his honour by the sword. May wee holde anger against such as haue done some notable iniurie, and published dishonest speche of vs? I say no, for that according to the rule of the Gospell wee are bound to pardon all wrongs, and leaue the reuenge to God to whome it doeth belong. Men ought not to bee angrie, if, in their houses their wiues bee Libertines, and dissolute, for that so delicate is the honour of the husbande and the wife, that hir chastitie can not be defected, without that hee haue interest in the dishonour: and therefore in things that can suffer remedie, wee ought eyther to qualifie the rigor of the punishment, or dissemble the iniurie: much lesse ought wee to bee angrie with our seruantes, when they do not the dutie of their place, or murmur when they are commaunded: for being but mercenarie to vs, wee ought to admonishe them, and if they will not be broughte to amendement, to giue them leaue to departe. Wee oughte not to bee angrie with our friends and familiars, if it so fortune that in their prosperitie they misknow vs, and in our great aduersities will not succour vs: for according vnto their behaviour, wee haue to giue this iudgement of them, that

that as if they had bene true friendes; they woulde not haue say-
 led vs, so, according to their corrupt affection, their pride carrieth
 them into disdain of our pouertie. In cases of breach of promise,
 it euill becometh a wise man to be angrie, for that this reputati-
 on belongeth to patience; that he ought rather to lose that hee
 hoped for, than to breake the patience, for the which he hath bene
 so long praised. And howe can we be angry againste our selues,
 when we erre in that we say, and vse falsehood in that we doe?
 Saying that the remedie of our abuses consisteth, not to be angry
 and bere our selues, but in the amendment and reformations of
 our actions. Why shoulde we be angrie when we see Fortune
 raiseth others, and forgetteth vs? Saying that, if Fortune distri-
 buted to euerie one according to the rate of their will and merite,
 she coulde not be called Fortune, but Justice: but because she wil
 iustifie the limites and charters of hir auctoritie, she vseth to ad-
 uance those that she fauoureth, and spareth to preferre suche as
 deserue to be exalted. Sure, we haue no reason to be angrie a-
 gainste the subtilties of the diuell and the worlde: For that, in
 well aduised iudgement and consideration they little deceyue vs,
 sith of the contrarie they admonishe and aduise vs. And accor-
 ding to the testimonie of the Scripture, the Diuell trauellet vs
 in temptations, & to the worlde is ioined a propertie to deceiue vs.
 And let vs not be wroth, if we haue not suche power and abilitie
 as others, since, if we make aright our owne computation and
 reckoning, we ought to be more sorie that we haue not deserved
 honour, than that we haue it not. And since the law of nature and
 fortune make all things subiecte to reuolution and chaunge, and
 that of our selues, we are the proper instrumentes of our owne
 harmes, and oughte not to be angrie or vered, but against such
 as rise to offende G D D and spyre vs to committe sinne. For,
 a good Christian oughte to be more sorie for hym that hathe a
 wounde in hys soule; than for any that suffer losse of their goods,
 though there be neuer so greate nearenesse and respecte of kinned
 and friendshippe: so that the thing that ought mosse to trouble a
 good Christian, and breade compassion in the manne of holinesse
 and vertue, is to see that manne beare suche appetite to the
 sweetenesse of sinne, and with surhe boldenesse followe their
 libertie

Office of the
 diuell, the
 worlde, and
 the fleshe.

libertie to doe euill, that many and many are those now adayes, who hadde rather bzeake the commaundements of the holy law, than to infringe the leasse statute of the Prince. This is a thing to be marvelled at, that when the merchant is taken wyth a counterfeite measure, or the goldsmith with a false waight, the measure shall be burnt, the balance broken, and the offender rendred to publique iustice: but if a manne be knowne to renounce God, or to beare the guilt of periurie, murder, or adulterie, muche lesse that he shall be chasticed, but of the moste he shall be favoured, suppozted, and iustified; yea, to his impunitie shall be added libertie to offende further, to the dangerous example of a whole criminaltie. That merue sinne, it is no wonder, but that they bee suffered to heap sinne vpon sinne, bzingeth slaunder to the whole race and generation of mankind: For, to be so impudent as to blaspheme openly, and to be an adulterer in publike is as though there were no Gospell to forbidde it, nor G D D to punishe it. It is sure moste horrible for a manne to swell and ware fatte in sinne, whose swætenesse drawing hym on after the delightes of this worlde maketh hym so sucke and licke vppe the syrupe of euery vice, that if he leaue off wyth anye of Gods commaundementes vnbroken, it is not for want of will, but because hee maye no moze. And albeit, it be lawfull for no manne to sinne, yet howe many doe we see so resolued and obstinate in wickednesse, that by continuall frequentation of euill, they doubt whether they be euill menne or not? There is nothing more dangerous to a Christian, than to accustome hymselfe to harden his conscience, for that in such wretches there is no wil to be amended, nor meane to be remedied. Another sorte of sinners there is, who not content to haue sinned, vaunt of their wickednesse, and challenge a reputation for doing euill: those be the people, againste whome God is wroth, and whose offences he is moste slowe to pardon: and by so much moze do we offend the Maiestie of God, by howe muche we are diligent and bolde to sinne, and slowe to repent, and obstinate in perseueraunce, but moste of all when we publishe our vilenesse with impudencie and boldnesse. Eia didde not so muche complaine of the people of *Israel*, for that they hadde offended G D D, and forgotte hym: but for that they published

Vauhters of
sinne.

published their abominations, following therein the *Sodomites*, and cursed creatures of *Gomorrah*, to whom it was no more shame to sinne than to eate. Then, againste suche kinde of sinnes and sinners, with good reason we maye be angrie, since of all other actions and accidents passing in the world, we may maruell and wonder, but not rise into anger and wrath. Moses was euill intreated of the King, followed of the *Iewes*, murmured at by *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and enuied of hys sister, and yet so; all those troublesome perplexities, he was neuer so vexed and angrie, as when he sawe hys people sigh for the absence of *Egypt*, worshippinge the *Casse*, and murmur againste God. It is written of the great *Mathathias* father of the renowned *Machabees*, y notwithstanding he was deuested of the state of sacrificator, and banished the presence of his house whilest his gods were abandoned to spoile: yea, outrage being violently conspired against hys person: yet much lesse that hee toke vengeance, seeing he was not once scene kindled in anger, till he sawe a wicked *Iewe*, in the manner of the *Gentiles* idolaters, offer a sacrifice, for which dishonour done againste God, he didde iustice on the offender. So extream also were the persecutions whych the *Prophete Elias* suffered of *Iezabel*, and of the idolators of *Hierusalem*, that oftentimes hee prayed to God to be dissolued, to the end his afflictions might take ende. And albeit the auctoritie and wickednesse of hys aduersaries, accompanied his heart wyth continuall troubles and variations, yet he neuer prosecuted the reuenge of anye, but suche as bowed downe to the idol of *Baal*, of whome wyth their disguised God, he slewe thre hundred. My eies (saith *Dauid*) are alwaies as fountaines of teares, not so muche for the wrongs and offences which others doe to me, as for compassion of the dishonour done againste my God: wherein, as his affection was holie, feeling more bitterly the outrages conspired againste God, than the displeasures committed againste himselfe: so, by his example, I say, we can not doe a thing in the worlde more iuste, than to take as our owne, the iniuries done against the innocencie of *Christ*: seeing he hath taken vpon him the account and reckoning of all our offences, and made our transgressions as his owne. Following then the example of so many holy and excellent personages, we may

Psal. 118.

Golden Epistles

Description
of a furious
man.

That whiche
in a priuate
man is but
naturall an-
ger in a ma-
gistrate
may be cal-
led rage and
furie.

may accomplish this commaundement; To bee angrie and sinne
not, which we do then best performe, when we rebuke the sinne,
and beare pitie to the sinners, and helpe to succour and saue theyr
soules, and giue no meane to the losse and infamie of their hono-
re: the which now adayes hapneth in the contrarie, for that in se we
men is founde a disposition to rebuke sinne, but all sortes are dis-
pleased with the sinner, committing their zeale into ire, and ire
into vengeance, and so by little and little, vnder colour to cha-
stise, most men execute reuenge. The sinne of anger, besides that
of it selfe it is hatefull, is also in the same dangerous, seeing that
wytth no man the neighbourhode of an angrie man is welcome,
nor his friendshippe tollerable. The angrie and furious man
hathe these descriptions: His eyes rolling, his face inflamed, his
bodys trembling, his tongue troubled, his heart burning, and
his handes readye to strike, and so long as he is gouerned with
rages, so long is he vnsitte to execute anye publique businesse,
seeing he neyther knoweth what he saith, nor comprehendeth what
he ought to doe: and the more he is raised to place and dignitie,
the more hurtfull he is: for that wherhe in a priuate man is no
more than naturall anger in a magistrate, authoritie maketh it
rage and furie: and therefore in the administration of a common
weale, there is nothing more vntowardly, than to a heart natu-
rally fierce and cruell, to adde power and authoritie. To the im-
patient and furious man, moste commonlye things doe not best
succede, for that being in passion he hath not the rule of his owne
iudgement, and much lesse is able to dispose of his fortune, he
seldome findeth friendes to followe hym, and hath fewe seruants
to serue him: for, it goeth for the moste parte with the furious
man to haue euill will of manye, and stabilitie of fellowshippe
with none: and as he is troublesome to manye, so every manne
hathe matter to speake againste hym, whereby, by the iuste oc-
casion of his owne merite, he liueth alwayes in contention, in per-
plexities, in suspition, in murmur, and for the moste parte doth
contest and accurst againste hymselfe. Suche men moue their
owne scorne, for that in their passions they are laughed at, their
friendshippes suspected, and in their dealings they are feared: that
more easie is it to endure a temptation, than the neighbourhode

of a

of a furious man, with such men we muste not communicate in things discrete, noꝛ trust them in secret businesse: foꝛ that to giue counsell they are too rash, and to vse secrecie their mouth is too open. It is daungerous then to commit to a man possessed wth a spirit of anger, any charge of gouernment in the common weale, foꝛ that, in affayres of pollicie, as there be things that deserue to be chastised, and matters that ought to be dissembled: so, it can not but happen to the furious man, that in place to appease and couer iniuries he will of himselfe thunder reproches against the partye. But now, after the daungers and damages that come by anger, it appertaines to reason and congruencie, to exhibite a few remedies to cure oꝛ qualifie those moodes. In all our affaires and actions, it is good to foresee bothe what may happen to vs, and what may be sayde of vs: foꝛ so shall we be armed, that albeit men giue vs cause to be angrie, yet they shall haue no power to make oure passion furious: and therefore the same neede that the poore man hath of riches and the soles of wisdom, the same necessitie hath the heart of patience, foꝛ, being subiect to many afflictions, and the troubles no lesse that assaile him together with the daungers that depend on them without cōparison, many moe be the things which he ought to suffer in patience, than that are lawful foꝛ him to reuenge with his tongue. And if of euery wrong that is done to vs, and of euery aduersitie that is naturall to our condition, wee should reteine speciall accompt and reckning, our handes would neuer cease to reuenge, our tongue werie with complaining, and our heart wasted and broken with sighing. Foꝛ, what manne is a member of this miserable life, to whome is not one equal desire that his dayes and troubles mighte dissolve together. Men being so ouergrowen with vices, and so deuoured with affaires and businesse, it is maruel that since they are so slowe to cut off their cares and troubles, that the waues of their proper aduersities doe not rise and swallowe them vp. And if the Physicians ordeyned to cure infirmities of the body, would binde them selues to heale the sorowes of the heart, they shoulde in particular haue moze patientes mustering afore their gates, than in times past were inhabitantes in Rome, when it was best replenished. Foꝛ, so naturall is the sicknesse of trouble & veration, that though many elchue it

Golden Epistles.

yet few haue power to liue long exempt from it. What is he, eyther past, present, or to come, who, in his body hath not felt some payne, and in his heart some passion, hath not suffered some losse or spoyle of his goods, or infamie to his person, or at least who can walke so vprightly, to whome is not done some iniurie, or some scoorne or reproche spoken? But he that is vexed with all these aduersities, and will make heade against them and remedie them, let him be assured, that euen then shall he laye the plot of y^e ende, and dispatch of his life, when he begins to put order to these incurable harmes. For as there is no sea without working, no warre without danger, no iorney without trauel: euen so that ther is no worldly life voyde of troubles, nor any estate without stumbling blocks, it is most apparat in this, that there liues no man so happy which hath not wherein to be grieved, and wherebpon to complayne. For how many do we see whome pryde makes fall, enuie consumes, anger torments, pouerty wasteth, & ambitio endeth their dayes: So that for the most part such is the miscōtentment of our myndes, that our aduersities traueling our spirits in martyrdome drive vs to wish rather an honest death, than to languish in so troublesome a life.

good aduise

And so, if we will accomplish this commandement, To be angry and sinne not, let vs (in accidentes which the world, fortune, and nature bring vpon vs) dissemble some, suffer some, conceale some, and reuendy the rest, and in all things let vs follow reason, and free opinion.

For such as enter into Religion.

Touching a
chapter pro-
uinciall.

Such as be religious or aspire to the office & ministerie of the Church, ought to haue alwayes afore their eyes the words which God spake to Abraham saying: Departe out of thy country, and from amongst thy friends, and go into the land which I shall shewe thee, and abide where I commaund thee. For, vnder these wordes shall they finde comprehended all that God doeth for them, and likewise that whiche they are bounde to doe for the seruice of GOD.
Abraham,

Abraham being in the house of Tara his father, and Aran and Achor his brethren Chaldeis and Idolaters, GOD appeared vnto him, and bad him leaue his countrie and parentes, and goe where he would guide him, and reſte where he woude commaund him, and in recompence of his obedience (ſayth God) I will make thee Lord ouer great numbers of people, and will ſo giue thee my bleſſing, as thou ſhalt for euer remaine bleſſed.

Out of theſe wordes may be gathered ſoure things, which God commaunded Abraham, and other ſoure things which God promiſed him: ſo that as a Lord, he teacheth him in what he ought to ſerue him, and withal tels him what rewarde he wil giue him for his ſeruite. Aſoze God called Abraham, it was not found that there was any vertue in him, and much leſſe that hee had done any ſeruite to God: onely the Scriptures make mention that he was of the generation of Saruth and ſonne of Tara, and had to his brother Aran, which all were Gentiles, & Idolaters. Caſſianus ſayth that of three ſortes be called thoſe that come to the perfection of religio: one ſorte God calles by holy inſpirations: another ſorte is choſen of men by god counſell: the third ſort is conſtrained to enter into religion by ſome neceſſitie or miſaduenture happened to them: ſo that albeit the perfection of religion be alwayes one, yet the meanes to come ther vnto are many. The firſt function or eſtate is called diuine, and conſiſts (as is ſaid in this, when the great goodnes of God ſo toucheth the heart of a man, that hee leaueth that which he doth, and doth that which he ought, eſtranging his minde from woꝛldly things, and raiſing it to deuine and heauenly contemplations.) The ſecond is called humane or woꝛldlie, as when any euil liuer is turned to god by ſome good mans counſell, as Hippolytus to was conuerted to the faith by the inſtructions of S. Laurence. The third vocation may be called conſtrained, or by neceſſitie: as when a man of diſſolute conuerſation, and falling into aduerſitie, is conuerted to God. And as theſe be the three manners of calling, and meanes to enter into religion, ſo, if they be wel conſidered. I ſee not how the firſt (oftentimes) either doth much proſite, nor the laſt much hinder, for more or leſſe to ſerue God in religion. For, there haue bene many of thoſe which God hath called to religion, condemned: and many others which came to ſerue him by force,

Three ſortes
of people
called to religion.

haue bene saued, Christ called and chose to the colledge of his disciples, the cursed Iudas : and the Apostle S. Paule, being reuered & fallen from his horse, necessitie compelled him to knowe Iesus Christ: so that Iudas, being exalted, fel, and S. Paule being fallen, was exalted. This I bring in this place, to the end that none esteeme much, or make greate accompt, either to be called to the religion by the wil of God, or to come to it by any necessitie or misadventure : For the seruant of God which trauelleth towarde his saluation in a religious life, ought not to remember so much how God called him, as to consider wherefore God called him. There be many religious men in monasteries and els where, who attribute much to themselues, for that they entred religion in infancy : others challenge more for that they toke the habite in the heate of their youth: some there are that ascribe to their aduantage, for that they professe an order very straight and reformed : and others for being the followers and disciples of men of holie life: and manye there be, with whom it is no small reputation to haue continued in religion thirtie, fortie, or fiftie yeares, and they in respecte of their prescription, holde all other but poyces: yea, most of them sticke not to referre all their perfection to the long time they haue dwelt in monasteries, hauing no regarde to the little they haue profited in them. But to enter religion in infancie, in youth, or in olde age, to the man of God oughte to minister no occasion of aduantage or estimation ouer others: but rather let him (as a good steward) make a good account for his time, and trauel more in the studie and seruice of God, than to keepe reckoning of the yeares, of his continuance. For what estimation can prescription bring to any man, when he can shew no fruite of his time: seeing y much more doth the religious man deserue for his knowledge and humilitie, than for his olde age or continuance. Iudas remained thre yeares in the Apostleshipp of Christ, and thre houres and no more, did the good these hang by our sauour on the crosse, & yet by fayth we are assured that more did profit the these those thre houres in torments, than the thre yeares did good vnto Iudas being a follower of Christ. In the parable of the vyneyarde in the gospell was no more hie giuen to him that wrought from morning til night, than to those that entred the vyneyarde at the last houre

till night, then to those that entred the vineyard at the last houre: whereby we are instructed, that our merite or not merite standes not in the seruices which we do to God, nor in the little or greates charitie which we expresse, but chiefly as it please his goodnesse to accept or reiect vs. Al the Apostles were called by Christe before his death, sauing S. Paul, and yet who doubtles thonghe he was the last in vocation, but that he was euen the first and chiefest in perfection: (because he laboured more than all the rest:) so that, albeit to enter religion in infancie, in youth, or to remaine there long time, can not be but commendable, yet vnder this condition, that it be not to this ende to haue a greater portion in the profits, but to be more humble in their profession. Beware therfore you that be auntries in houses of religion, that you fall not into the deceits and circumuentions of the diuell, who in recompence of the great number of yeares that you haue dwelt in religion, and the many temptations that you haue endured there, wil perhaps goe about to pay you with the best chamber in the Dorter, & make you proude with the first voyce in the Chapter: which you muste eschue, for that, how much lesse comfort and cherishing you haue in the estate of religion, so much more is your perfection and reuerence. In like sort, in the good religious man ought to appeare no vaine glozie, for that he professeth the habite of a strait order, or a vocation of libertie, or whether he be obseruaunt or cloisterer: for, the perfection of the Gospell consistes not in the monastrie wherin we enter, but in the good and holie life we leade. The childezen of Israel worshipped one only God in Aegypt, and being come into the lande of promise, they reuolted and misteknewe him: so that in what place so euer we are, let our vertues giue dignitie to the house, and not the place seduce and alter our deuotion. Albeit Ioseph dwelte among the Aegyptians, Abraham amongst the Chaldeis, Tobias amongst the Assyrians, and Daniel was cruelly handled amongst them of Babylon: yet were they alwayes holie and happie: and by them we are taughte that to the perfecte man, the whole worlde is his monastrie, as of the contrarie, the prophane and wicked man, of his monastrie makes a worlde. The same appearing in manye wanderers, delighting in chaunge, and to raunge from one house

to an other vnder colour of perfection (which more properlie may be called temptation) they are not without their excuses, and haue ready tongs to blame their gouernours, for that their monasteries are not reformed, complayning perhaps more by opinion, then that there lackes perfection. For, there is no place in the worlde so prophane, where a man may not labour to be good if he wyl, or which to the man of God, helpes not to the seruice of his perfection. Let not the seruant of God also be glorious, for y in his order he is esteemed of holie life. For greate is his shame to be taught by a good maister, and forget to followe his vertues, and far greater is his abuse if he be renoumed for holinesse, and be founde an hypocrite. Dathan & Abirā had Moses to their maister, Achab had Helias, Ananias had S. Peter, and Iudas had Iesus Christ: who albe it they heard their wordes and preachings, yet did they little profit by their doctrine. And as in workes made by mans hande, we haue a custome first to praise the worke, and then the workeman that made it: so, touching a life religious, it is to small purpose for a disciple to beare praise by his maister. The good religious manne ought not to vaunte, if the Lord call him more to one religion than to another: for, after that a man be baptised, there is no estate in all the church of God wherin the good man may not be saued, and and the wicked condemned: and therefore, to take rather the habite of S. Benet, than of the Augustines, to professe more the Dominicans than the Franciscanes, and to followe the Charterers rather than the Trinities or Mercenaries, or to be affected more singularly to one order than to another, I hold it of small difference, since that albeit they are all habits aunciently instituted by holy personages, yet in truth they are but traditionall and subiecte to alteration and change, where Christes religion is of it selfe pure, firme, and simple, and hath no affinitie with outward obseruations and Ceremonies: so that as God doth more consider the heart of him that serues him, then his habite which he beareth: so, I think that any man that is a good Christian and delightes in the true swartenesse of the Gospol, may enter into what religion he wyl, and haue liberty to beare such habite as best setteth forth his grauitie. For, for me to chosse the habite of one religion more than of an other, oughte to be referred more to deuotion than perfection.

And

And albeit I can not denie, but that there be religious some more correct and better reformed then others, and wherein the professors haue more occasion to be good, and lesse libertie to be euill: yet, I dwell resolutely in this, that the good or the euil of monasteries lyeth not in the habite, but in the man that beare it. And where many religious men suffer sundrie passions & difficulties, whiche of them professeth the most worthy and perfect religion, it is sure lamentable to see the inconuenience and euil examples which rise by such controuersies, where amongst the seruants of God they oughte more to dispute for the truth of religion, then to examine who followeth best his profession.

An other discourse tending to religion in a
Chapter general.



Christ, speaking of such as being not content to be Christians, will be perfect Christians, saith: Who will not renounce all that hee possesseth can not be my disciple. And therefore afore all things it behoueth vs to haue Jesus Christ for God touching faith, and for redeemer in that whiche concernes the health of our soules, and for doctrine to follow him as maister. For, if he teach vs not that we haue to do, and leade vs not by his way, we shal remaine in ignorance, and wander without a guide, and be ready to stumble vpon error, heresies, and idolatrie. *Vias tuas domine demonstra mihi, & semitas tuas edoce me.* Teach me, Oh Lord (saith David) the wayes that end in thee, & the pathes by the which thou drawest to thy self those that be iust. The Lord saith not, Those that wil renounce, &c. but speaking in the singular number, He (saith he) that wil renounce all that hee possesseth shal be my disciple: giuing vs thereby to vnderstande how small is the number of them that know his wayes, and farre lesse the congregation of suche as goe by his pathes: for, of all those multitudes of people whiche haue receiued baptisme, howe manye are come to perfection? Then since Jesus Christ hath presented himselfe to be our maister, it is good reason that we esteeme

We must acknowledge Christ for our faith, for our redemption & for our doctrine.

Psalme. 143

Cant. 8.

It is a duetie
in disciples
of Christ
rather to do
then to
speake.

Trouble-
some proper-
ties annexed
to riches.

our selues to bee his disciples, which we doe then accomplishe best, not so much when we heare his word, as when we treade in his steps: *Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum.* Oh thou (sayth the wise man) that comest to serue me, and to follow me, put me as a white & marke in the most dearest place of thy hart, euen there where the beames of thy thoughts do alwayes strike. The first les- son that is taught vs in the schoole of this good master, is that he p- reiecteth not al that he hath, cannot be his disciple: wherin he giues know'edg to all posterities of y profession of religion, that the firste and chiefeest marke of a disciple of the law of the Gospel, is to beare as gret compassion euen to the poorest, as they did to those that were most rich whilest they were of the world: for so shall they followe naked, him y was naked, in pouertie communicate with him that was poore and in afflictions, follow him that was crucified, eue Je- sus Christ, to whose disciples it is a chiefe duetie, rather to doe, than to speake. Where Christ commands you to leaue the gold and siluer that you haue of the world, it is not for that riches of themselves are euil, but because they are hurtfull impediments in the seruice of God, much hyndring the action of our duetie in holy professio by meane of the toyles w: haue to get them, the cares and daunger to keepe them, and the griefes they giue vs to depart fro them. This is one property annexed to the goods of this worlde, that who takes the greatest paynes to gather them, hath oftentimes the leasste vse and pleasure of them: for when they descende by succession, we esteeme them little and if we attayne them with our pollecie, they cost vs deare, and when we giue ouer to get more it is then that the afflictions of olde age giue vs no time to take the pleasure of those that we haue. Temporall riches bring with the pride and wening to him that hath them, couetousnes to gette more penurie to keepe them, and sinne to enioy them so that who holdes him selfe moste happie to haue them it is euen he that hath bys body moste charged wyth vices, and bys heart laden wyth cares: yea, if those that be most rich were examined of y extreme toyles and laboures they haue endured by lande, the daungers they haue passed by sea, y losses they haue suffered by bakers, y bribes and charges they haue employed, wyth other infinite perplexities that follow the traffique of getting: I beleue they had

had rather with þe easie begger, haue gone from doore to doore, then with þe thoughtful merchant, haue traded from sayze to sayze. To riches and richmen is ioyned also this passiõ, that as they vse great industrie to get them, so haue they no power to keepe them: for if theire welth consist in mills, the water carrieth them away, or else they depend of the fauour of the winde: if their treasures be in silke and cloth they are subiect to mothes, if their garners be full of coyne, vermyne will not forbear to deuoure it: and if it be in golde or siluer it is a swete pray to intice the theefe, whom oftentimes god suffereth to be such a scourge to the rich man, that what he hath heaped together wyth the sweate of all his life, the theefe takes from him in one houre. This is also one affliction incident to riche men, that whylest they get, they are private and alone, but when they come to vse and inioy their riches, they are oftentimes to much accompanied: for, what with parentage and kinred, recompence of seruantes, and oppoztunities of other friendes, the riche man, when he comes to diuide his goods or makes his testament, shall haue moze trouble to please all, then himselte toke pleasure to possesse & get all. And albeit he be liberall of his goods, and reasonable in þe distributiõ of them, yet shal he hardly escape without the murmure of his kinred, or grudging of his seruantes, and curses of his neighbours and that not so much for any wrong he hath done them, as for that he will giue the no portion in his wealth: so þe if by nature and charitie we haue compassion on the poore that wanteth, we ought by reason to haue pitie on the rich that hath abundance: for he is alwayes enuironed with frendes that neuer forbear to craue, and enimies that seldome cease to accurse: Wherefoze I see not, but if there be great trauell to get wealth there is no lesse trouble to distribute it: for that as it is gotten in sweate and labour, so we see it is deuided and left in sorow and teares. The riche man muste entertayne manie seruantes for the trayne of his person & furnish his house wyth costly aray: to him belongs great expence in hospitalitie and charge of busines, and in nothing must he fayle that may furnish the countenance and reputation of his riches, lest his honour be blemished: so that by the miserable qualitie of this wo:ld, men doe rather accomplish wyth opynion then

J. b,

with

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with reason. With this toyle is also accompanied for the moste part this further trouble to richmen, that when their fortune or follie hath raised them to an estate of abilitie and power, they had rather die then abate their pompe: and albeit they be sunk in substaunce, yet must they keepe vp sayle, and as the saying is, washe their face with faire water, and drie it ouer with a disheloute: so y how much so euer a worldly man hath of worldly wealth in this world, yet hath he not so much but that he hath wat of something, seeing that if he haue to supplie his lacke, he wanteth to accomplish the desires of his prodigall youth, with whome neede is not satisfied with hauing plentie of things, for that hauing abundance, he liues stil in desire to haue more. And suche men, as they trauel more so that that is superfluous, thā so that that is necessarie: so if they would controule that which they haue, and be discrete in that which they spende, they shoulde finde that the trauell they endure is not to satisfie the necessities they feele, but to accomplish the vanities wherein they liue. Riche men, the more they begin to finde out the secrete and subtiltie of traffique, the more do they fall into the bottomlesse troubles therof, as, to buy, to sell, to exchange, to retails on credite, yea, to beguile, rob, deceiue, & which worse is, when they protest more to giue it ouer, it is then they are most drowned in it: so that the more they haue the more they seeke to get: the more they buy, the more bargaines they make: yea, the more they desire, the more they rob: and yet (such is theyr wretchednesse) that that which they haue, seemes but litle to them and the litle that others haue they esteeme a great deale: yea, being neuer satisfied, they holde that they haue but litle, in comparison of that they desire to haue. Lastly, temporall riches bring with them this error, that as afore we get them, we haue insatiable appetite to them, so, being posselt of them we growe to loath them, as in all other things fulnesse altereth the taste: so that in getting them, we passe through infinite passions and difficulties, and hauing them we receiue with them perplexities and cares, reaping of our sweate & labours, a crophe of care, sorrowe and anguish. By all these, we maye proue it a false testimonie of him that calleth riches goods, seeing they haue no proprietie nor nature of good, but worke the effect of much euill: so, if there be anye e-

uill

euil in the world at this daye, rich men doe breede it, and the poore
 sort endure it: and therfore riches can not be called good, for that
 greater is the number, without comparison, of such as being good,
 become euil by riches, then of such as being wicked, are by riches
 holpen to be good. For, riches are rather the ministers of vices,
 then of vertues, and ready instruments to do hurte euen against
 those that get them with paine and trauell, and keepe them wpyth
 care and cost. If they be in the keeping and power of an olde man,
 his age wil not suffer him long to inioye them, and if they be the
 portion of one that is yong, they will neuer giue him reste till
 he haue spent them: so that I maye well maintaine that they be
 not goods, but euils, and not simple euils, but most great and hur-
 tful euils, seeing they put our bodies in danger, trouble our spi-
 rits, bring griefes to our heartes, and oftentimes takes away our
 liues, and put our soules in hazarde. That if riches were good, as
 the world saith, and not euil, as men see, there would not be area-
 red so cruel warres betwene princes, so many renoultes and tro-
 bles amongst estates and countries, so manye quarels amongst
 neighbours, nor so many lutes and processees betwene brethren;
 amongst all which is seldome scene, one man to contende with an
 other for the correction and amendement of his life, but rather
 for the vsurpation of their goods and possessions: wherein I see no
 reason to cal that good which is the occasion of so many euils, since
 that no other things are the riches of the worlde, but a desire of
 vaine men, a stumbling blocke for the wicked, a limebushe for the
 good, and a perpetual perplexitie for al sorts.


Rich men
 breede most
 euils in the
 world.

Riches the
 ministers
 of vices.

Let this suffice to warne chiefly suche as are entred into reli-
 gion, whose eyes oughte alwayes to stande, as a burning
 lampe, that heauenlie exchange whiche they made with the
 worlde, the same daye that they leste the worlde and entered reli-
 gion, wherein they chaunged pride for humilitie, ire for patience,
 and crueltie for charitie. He that being in religion, thinkes hee
 hath left in the worlde muche golde, siluer, possessions, and tem-
 porall goods, knowes not what he hath leste, nor what hee hath
 taken for, in leauing the worlde, he hath leste but misadventure
 and aduersitie, and in entring religion he hath chosen a life
 of suretie: for that to the good and vertuous religious man, it is
 more

more hard to passe one day in þe woꝛld, thã to suffer a whole yere in a monasterie. Therefore he þe wil be poꝛe, patient, abstinent, & continent, may with suertie be a member in al monasteries, but if he delight in Epicuritie, dissolutenesse, and impatiẽcie, let him knowe that a religion wel gouerned, is too hungrie for a glutton, too seuerẽ for him that is dissolute, and verie iudicial against all transgressours. For ende, let all men take hede how they followe the woꝛld, since it leades them out of the waye: let no man serue the woꝛld, for that it is vnthankesul: who trustes the woꝛld, shal finde it a traytour, & who delights in the woꝛld shal be deceyued: for that it hath allurements to intice men, & charmes to cast them into a slepe, which neuer takes end til they die. Suche as knowe not the woꝛld, desire it, and receiue therein their destruction, euen as in swete drinke brued subtilly, with which payson men sucke by the fatall syrrop of their death and destinie. But the religious men, inclosed within the circuit of their cloysters, ought to close their eyes from the sight of vanities, and let their eares not to be rauished with the noise and charmes of riches.

Instructions still tending to men entred
religion.

 **S**o god hath GOD bene alwayes to those whom he loueth, that from the beginning of the woꝛlde, he hath bled to diuide & separate them from the woꝛld, and from the societie of woꝛldly things: as he did by Abraham when he drew him out of Chaldea, called Iacob from Syria, and choosed Moses out of the pallace of Pharao: by whiche wee are instructed, that with God it is none other thing to leade a mā into religion, then to take from him occasions to sinne, and giue him grace to serue him. When the sonne of GOD woulde reueale anye secreete mysterie to anye of hys deare Disciples, he bled to leade them into solitarie places, separate from the brute of the woꝛlde: thereby to signifye to all posterities, that by
how

howe much more God loueth a man, by somuch more doth he estrange and diuide him fro the felloſhip of the world. *Ducam illum in ſolitudinem & loquar ad cor eius*: The ſoule that is beloued of me (ſaith God) by his Prophet Oſee, and which I haue predeſtinated, I will drawe out of the troubles of the world, and leade him into ſolitarie places, and priuately reuele vnto his hart my ſecrets. Right happy is that ſoule whome the Lord calleth to the deſart of religion, there to ſerue him with greater deuotion, and ſolow him with more conſtancie of heart. God hath ſpoken to many by ſignes, and hath communicated with many by writings and wordes, yea, vnto ſome he hath whiſpered in their eare: but he ſpeakes onely to the heart, of thoſe whome he loueth with his heart. And little ſerueth it that God ſpake to vs in the eare to heare him, to our eyes to beholde him, and to our tongue to exalt him, if withall he ſpake not to the heart to loue him: for, it is impoſſible that he ſhould loue God with his heart, who hath him not impzinted in his heart: and then doth God ſpeake to the heart of a Chriſtian, when he drawes him out of the ſtoymes of this world, and leades him into the ſolitarineſſe of a monaſterie, where hee may traine his bodie in puritie, and his minde in contemplation. For, the tree that ſtands by the high way, giues more ſhadowe to the paſſenger, than fruite to the owner that prunes it. God doth not onely ſay, I wil draw him from the world, & lead him into the deſart: but he ſaid he would ſpeak to his heart, meaning, that litle doth it auaille to be lead into the deſart of religion, if with a good heart we do not abandon the things of the worlde.

For, more doth it hurt than good, if our ſurgion draw from vs a groſſe tooth, and leaue behind ſome corrupt root to infect y gūmes: and therefore, who forſakes the world with good heart, and entreth into religion with holy intention, it is he with whole heart God doth communicate, and loues him with his heart. God hath promiſed, that Where ſo euer two be gathered together in his name, he would be the third: therefore it is good religion to beleue, that he is in al houſes wel corrected, & in euery vertuous cōgregation cōpounded vpon religious perſons, magnifying and ſeruing him both day and night: ſo that ſuche as are admitted to vertuous aſſemblies, can not haue in this world a more greate felicitie. And therefore

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therefore, not without great myſterie, god commanded Abraham to abandon y^e houſe which he had builded, & the inheritance which he had eſtabliſhed: thereby to inſtruct all profeſſours of religion that in all tempoꝛall things are impediments to be good Chriſtians, and hinder the ſcience of perfection in religion. *Declina a malo & fac bonum*, Thou oughteſt to flee darkneſſe, if thou wilt enjoy light, thou muſt follow the right waye, if thou wilt not erre: auoyde the myre and dyrt, if thou wilt be without ſpot & cleane: yea, thou muſt firſt forbear to be euill, if thou wilt begin to bee good, & ſo ſhalt thou with the counſel of Dauid eſchue vice and folow vertue.

This diſcourſe was vttered in the preſence of
a noble Ladie at hir Churching.



Int lumbi veſtri praeinſti, & lucerna ardete, in manibus veſtris. oh thou that com'eſt or mean'eſt to come to the houſe of the lord (ſayth Chriſt) it behoueth thee to be ſtraightly girt afore the candle & candleſtick be giuen thee in thy hande: foꝛ amongſt y^e ſeruant'es of God, if we ſee any goe heauily, ſadly, and diſcomfoꝛted, it is a good argument to ſay that he is negligent. &

not well girt, The Scripture beares witneſſe that Elias in the deſert, S. Iohn in the wilderneſſe S. Peter in priſon, S. Paule in Ephesus and Chriſt vpon the pynacle, although they were thinly clothed, yet were they well girt, by which is gathered this inſtruction, that notwithstanding the troubles and perſecutions happening to perfect men, they ought not foꝛ all that to giue ouer that they haue begon, noꝛ to be colde oꝛ negligent in y^e they haue taken in hand. The gowne that is wel girt keepes the body warme, and gathereth leſſe winde: euen ſo the man that profeſſeth a religiō to ſerue God, being girt with purity and holy intentions, is the better armed againſt the wind of vanities of this world, & no leſſe prepared foꝛ y^e heate of deuotiō & ſeruiſe of god. So y^e the we may ſay a man is well girt, when we ſee he is in the waye to be holy and iuſt.

foꝛ

For so abstynent and continent ought wee to bee in Religion, that both the world may beholde our vertue, and many made better by our example. And therfore where the Lorde sayth, It beho- ueth vs to haue our gownes girt afore we take candels in our handes, it is to aduise vs, y in suche sort shoulde we leaue bound, troden out, and naked, the vanities and riches of this world, that they haue no power to follow vs, and we lesse desire to go to seeke them. The lighted candels whiche we shoulde haue in our hands be the good and holy woorks we ought to do, and as he is one that holdes the candel, and he an other that partakes in the vse, and lighte of it: so the good worke of the holy man is not onely profit- able to him selfe alone, but it also serueth to edifie an other that seeth him doe it. Withall like as he is not exempt from sin, who to another giues occasion to sinne: in like sorte that man can not be without merit, whose vertue is the cause that an other doth a- ny good action: the same agreing with the interpretation of this text of the prophet, *Particeps sum omnium timentium te*: when wee are the cause that other men serue God, we doe communicate and partake (sayth he) with the merit of such good things as they doe in his seruice. It suffiseth not (sayth Iesus Christe) to holde one onely candel in our handes, but it is requisite to the office and py- tie of christians to haue many: for, as the true christian, and ma- of perfect deuotion to God, receiues of the plentiful hande of the Lorde many graces and benefites: so it is necessary that he doe many seruices, and keepe his spirit in continuall exercise of tha- ksgiuing. For as this is commune in the Office and friends- ship of men, that by how much lesse we are rayled to benefites a- boue our merit, so much more are we bound to owe all those due respects of recompence and ciuilitie, as may holde vs acquitted, & leaue oure friend satisfied. Euen so with G D D, this is an in- fallible propertie in his Justice, to minister rewards to good men aboue the rate of theyr merites, and prepare punishment to the wicked vnder theyr deseruings. And where Chryst com- maundes (not wythout greate mysterie) that we shoulde houlde in our handes our candels lighted, and neyther vse the seruice of the Candlestick, nor appoynt others to houlde them for vs: it is to aduertise vs, that if G D D ought to saue vs, it oughte to be

be through his greate mercy onely, and not by any meane of our
 proper merites, although in our actions we ought alwayes to ex-
 presse a holy industry and diligence. In like sort, it is not enough
 (in the profession of religion) that we be girt, that we haue can-
 dels, that we hold them in our hands, or that we haue many can-
 dels: but it belongs to our Christianity to haue them burning
 with light, and not as dead and stinking snuffes. Wherefore we
 are warned, that better were it, not to enter into religion at all, if
 in the same we correct not the abuses of our liues, & gather profite
 by the fruit and doctrine of y^e gospel. By the example of that great
 prophet S. John baptist, being himselfe (as the scripture saith) the
 candel that burned and gaue light, are bound al sincere and vertu-
 ous religious men, to take heede that they wante no ware of gods
 life to burne, and be lesse replenished with vices to giue impedi-
 mentes to their lights: so that no other thing is the religious man
 vndeuous, than a candel dead. And it cannot, by any similitude re-
 semble a candel light, but rather a snuffe trodden out and quen-
 ched, where the man of the Church hath no other good thing in
 him than his habite, by the which he ought neuer the more to ex-
 alt or glorify himself, since, afoze the maiestie of god, it is no other
 thing to be reputed a holy man holding nothing of vertue but his
 habite, than a candel, whose light being quenched his qualitie li-
 eth dead. The virgins that had not their lamps lighted (according
 to the iudgement of the Gospel) deserued not to enter with the
 bridegrome: euen so the man by whome is not perfozmed the
 dutie of a good Christian, and muche lesse hath fulfilled the
 office of a Churchman, maye stande assured, that when hee dy-
 eth, hee shall not be founde amongst those that are inuited, but
 past ouer to the felloweshippe of suche as are deceiued. But
 greate is the grace whiche God sheweth to that man, whome
 hee withdraues from the worlde, and reduceth into holye re-
 ligion, for that there is more suretie to stande, and not so
 muche subiection to fall, and if hee suffer him to stumble, hee
 hath appointed him helpes to holde him vp, and manye readye
 meanes to repentance: since that in the Church he hath more
 opportunitie to serue God, and lesse occasion to commit sinne.
 And albeit, being compounded vpon humours and compleri-
 ons

ons of corruption, we can not but erre in things corrupt & woꝛldly, yet such is the care and protection of God ouer those whome he loveth, and hath called and chosen to the service and office of his church, that if sometimes he suffer them to fall the better to make them know him, it is not without the readie assistance of his hand to helpe them swiftly to rise agayne: yea, he seldome suffereth them to slide into suche faultes, as may give him occasion to be angrie with them.

Therefore who under the habit of religion, riseth into a minde of pride, ambition, epicuritie or malice, is amongst the children of God, the same that Sathan is to all Christians, Dathan amongst the Israelites, Saul amongst the prophets and Judas amongst the Apostles. Wherein let all men be warned that haue will to enter into religion, that also, if they take it, they may know whether they follow it, since for no other cause ought they to come to the communion of religion, but to amende and reforme their liues. For albeit the sinceritie of religion receiue great sinners: yet it is with no tolleration to commit heinous crimes after they be inuested. What other thing is ment by that discipline of the scripture, wherein the lands of promise for traveling in small laboures on the holy dayes, they were commaunded to be stoned: but that to the man of the Church sinning lightly in religion, was merit of greater severity and punishment, so that a small sinne committed in the woꝛld, beares an estimation of grievous crime in the Church. Take heede (saith Saint Paule) that you receive not the grace of our Lorde in vayne. And what other thing doth he but receive it in vaine, who makes no reckoning of his election, and cares not to be called to the Church, and deuided from the woꝛld. For as by baptism we are sanctified, even so by the profession of the ministerie we are regenerate.

Let euerie one then take heede what it is that he takes in hande afore he beginne to manage so holie a function, whether they be professours by will or by necessitie. For, all religions bring of institutions of holy personages, as it can not be tollerable that in their ministers be any imperfections or wante of perfect deuotion and vertue: so, who in the habite of religion, will liue pro-

prophanely: as followe the libertie of the worlde, in that man is
no apparance of reformation, and leaſte argumente of faith or
vertue. And therefore in the Church for ſome particular men to
be more exempte and privileged than others, or to aſpire aboue
the congregation and Communitie of the Church in anye pri-
uate or familiar prerogative: although it maye be ſuffered for a
time, yet religion can not holde it tollerable long. For, no more
than the ſea can beare bodie that be deade, no more hath the
Church a nature to bryke in hir miniſters mindes of ambition
and pride: for which cauſe it is called order, as wherein are con-
tained all things wel ordered, which without this order can but
beare to confuſion. Who hath once taken the habite of religion,
and wil ſtill continue intangled with the cuſtomes of the worlde,
and exerciſe his minde in vanities, can not but bryake the ſtatute
of religion, and ſtande in peril of infidelitie, ſince the doctrine of
the Goſpel, and the libertie of the worlde could neuer hold ſocietie
or fellowſhip together.

And ſecondly in the preſence of a great aſſembly
of noble Ladies, of the good and euill
that the tong doth.

Ad ſecondum in manibus lingua.

Death and life are in the hands
of the tongue.

If to men of the worlde, were power of ſe-
lection to demaunde the things that they
deſire moſt, afore all other temporall fe-
licities, they woulde require to liue long.
And if (on the other ſide) they had libertie
to confeſſe what thing in the worlde they
abhorred moſt, who doubteth not but al men
loath nothing more than to die: Whether
there is to be made this readie reaſon, that as liuing, they enioye
that

that they haue, and dying, they leaue to be that they are: so, with life al things are remedied, and by death there is no thing whiche hath not end: yea the soueraigne delight of mortall folkes is the solace of their life, and the greatest terrour they suffer is the opinion and conceit of death,

The soueraine durtie of mortall folkes is the solace of their life.

Beastes exercise generation: frutes returne seedes to their planter: coꝛne yealdes his graine of increase: and birdes leaue egges in their nestes: and all foꝛ no other reason, than that knowing they can not alwayes liue, they leaue other to liue in their place: yea, foꝛ no other purpose doe men and beastes eate drinke, sleepe, and execute their other naturall actions, than thereby the more to perserue and pamper life, and with more securitie to prolong and shuff off death. And, foꝛ that (in generall experience) nature looies hir conuersation, and abhoꝛeth all things hurtfull to hir increase. We see there is nothing more comfortes the man that is sick than when he is tolde that he may eat of what his appetite liketh best: enē so there is no woꝛde that both more amaze oꝛ mortifie him, than when he is put in remembrance of his mortallitie, and to prepare his conscience: foꝛ, with one woꝛde he hath suertie of life, & with an other he heareth his sentence of death. Whereof was verified a right true experience in the good king Ezechias, to whome in one houre, in one house, and to one person, euen to him selfe, was pronounced by the Prophete Elay, that he was condemned to death, and that God had estones giuen him pardon: so that hauing deserved by the grauitie of hys sinnes that God shoulde take his life from him: God afterwarde, through the fulnesse of his mercie, and consideration of hys teares and repentaunce, found occasion to pardon hys death. How insensate and rude so euer anye creature is, yet we see he hathe iudgemente to eschue the fyre that burnes him, to auoyde the laberynthe made to hys destruction, and not to climbe wyth desperate perill those hyghe rockes, from whose toppes is present effecte of Deathe: Whereunto by what other reason is he induced, than to perserue life which he houldeth deare, and flee death whych nature teacheth hym to feare? The brute beaste fleeth deathe, and yet hee is of a condition not to iudge of the worthynesse and solace of life: But to man nothing is more deare than life, and of all

All things desire to liue & are loth to dye.

other things he holdeth death in most terror: for that living, he knoweth what he is: and being deade, he can not tell what shall become of him: (since after death there is no restitution, no more than a tree once beuen downe, can be eftsomes replanted.) Friendshippe and the office of societie, require that we wish to our friends much ability, might, and power, but with a greater affection we wish them long life: yea, this standes in common regard with vs all, rather to seeke to prolonge our life, that increase our wealth, & not to make a greater care to augment our treasure, than to continue our dayes: which being true, what a wonderfull prouidence of God and nature is this, that the confidence of life and death consistes onely in the tongue, who hath the same office in the administration of the life of man, whiche is incident to the portall of wycket of a greate palace, throughe the which doe enter all things that we eate and vse, and by the other doe issue al that we thinke & speake: so that it holdes good conformitie, wyth the saying of the wisemā, that life and death are in the power of the tongue, since life is at the portall of our palace, readie to departe, when death stryking on the hammer of our conscience seekes to enter: yea, there is no part of our bodie wherein wee stande more subiecte to daunger of life & death, than in our mouth and tongue: so that they being the open gates of the tower and trunk of the bodie, life may goe out wythout speaking, & death hath libertie to enter wythout knocking. *Habemus thesaurum in vasis fictilibus*, sayth S. Paul: as if he had sayd: Oh what payne haue Christians to beare in feeble and frayle vessels, suche pretious treasures, as sayth in the vnderstandyng, charitie in the will, pitie in the handes, loue in the harte, chastitie in the bodie, and life and death in the tongue: Yea they are vertues infused into vessels corrupt, and appointed to consortate members putrified, who being so daungerous to be managed, and mooste easie to be broken, what suertie or garde is there to the life, when in the mouth is founde no gouernment, and to the tongue is denied the gifte of secrecie: For, hauing no bones to controll it, nor sinewes to restraine it, what science or meane hath it to doe that we commaunde it, or howe can it reteine & keepe secrete thynges whych are referred to hys truste and confidence: Therefore to the

the man that feareth death, and desireth long life, it is necessarie, he minister gouernment to his tongue, leasse he knowe not how to prolong his life, and much lesse find out wherupon his death may come. Salomon then saide wiselye, that death and life were in the power of the tongue: meaning, that as to some men the tongue hath saued their life, so in others, wicked speche hath wrought the occasion of their death: for that to a noble minde, an iniurious word doth more hurte, than a greate cutte or wounde wyth a sworde on the bodie of a barbarous or rude man. And to proue by many examples and figures in the Scripture, the operation of the tongue, in the action of life and death: we reade that Caine being asked of God, why he had slayne his brother Abel: In place to repent him of the fact and aske pardon of God, he sayd that his fault was greater than that Gods mercie coulde forgive it: agaynst whome S. Augustine cryeth vehemently, that much lesse that the mercie of God coulde bee inferiour to the faulte of Caine, seeing that to pardon and forgive is a thing proper to God, and to reuenge & punish is farre estranged from his nature: so that there is no doubt but greater was the offence of Caine in the wordes he sayde, than in the murder he did: (since, if wyth the stroke wyth the worde he toke away the life of his brother, by the blasphemie of his tongue he gaue death to his soule.) To kill his brother was euill done, but to dyspayre in Gods mercie, was euen a transgression of the diuel, for that more doe we offende God to esteeme hym without mercie, than in any other sinne wee committe agaynst his maiestie. Some of the Iewes crucified Iesus wyth tormentes, and some wyth their tongues, in whom I thinke was daper effect of sinne, than in the rest that pearced his bodie wyth nayles: for that, they layde their handes on him by ignoraunce, but the other filled their tongues with false testimonie, and blasphemed and crucified him by malice. It is written in the prophet Esay, discoursing vpon the fall of Lucifer: *Quia dicebat in corde suo, in caelum conscendam, & super astra Dei, &c.* Because thou haste sayde, Oh Lucifer, that thou wouldest mounte vppe to the highest empire of heauen, and there erecte thy throne, and be like to the moste highe and mightie God, it was good iustice that thou shouldest fall from that thou wast, since thou aspiredst to bee that thou oughtest not:

To pardon & forgive is a thing proper to God.

We offende God more to thinke him to bee without mercie than in any other transgression.

Esay 14.

Golden Epistles.

4. Reg. 18.

yea, in the ouerwœning, expressed in proude and arrogant wordes was wrought the reason and effecte of thy wretched fall: wherein let all men be warned to take heede what they say, what they doe, and what they thinke, since Lucifer was not throlone from y^e seate where he sat, euen into the bottomlesse pytte where he fell, but for the disdainful wordes which he spake and arrogat thoughts he conceived so that as his wœning defaced him in heauen, so through his wickednes was he recommended to hell. Senacherib king of the Assyrians and a great blasphemers against the omnipotencie of god preparing a mightie armie against Hierusalem, sent his Herald to king Ezechias with this summons, *Non te seducat Deus tuus in quo fiduciam habes, non enim poteris vos quis de manu mea eripere.* Take heed king Ezechias (sayth he) and be not abused in confidence and opinion, that the ayde of thy God or the power of thy huge armie are able to protect thee from the stroke of my hande, for that I will compell the eflones to communicate in the tribute and subjection of thy auncestors. But so God kindled in indignatiō against these arrogant threates, that euen afore he had done any pyllage or murder in the country, & in the beginning of the siege afore Hierusalem beholds the angell of the Lorde killed in one night, a hundredeth and fourescore thousand men of his armie, and himselfe fleeing to his citie of Nimue was there slayne by his owne children, losing in this sorte through the wickednes of his tongue, his honour, his hoaste, his kingdome, and his sinfull life, where many other princes of y^e Assyrians, Persies, Medes, and Aegyptians afore him notwithstanding they executed greate cruelties ouer the common weales of the Hebrues, yet they made warres wyth their wepons and kept their tongues in rest, and therefore were punished with more fauoure than most wicked Senacherib. Therefore amongst princes in kingdomes, magistrates in publique office, and prelates in their congregations, as it is a thing of mosse equitie that they doe iustice, so is it no lesse vnseemely to be blasphemers or wicked speakers (since oftentimes men doe more accompte of iniurious wordes spoken against them, then of the punishment that is layde vpon them) And neither for the prince in his kingdome, nor the generall in the campe, nor to the Church man in time of peace, can it be

be any way convenient to be proude in their conuersations, and lesse byting in their wordes. The kindred of Caine (sonnes of the patriarche Noe) sayde they woulde buylde a Tower whose tops shoulde aspire to heauen, to saue them from the furie of the flood, if God sent any vpon the earth: wherein (as they imagined) that in their handes lay the power to auoyde death, and not in the might of God to take from them their life: so wee haue assuredly to hold it a great myserie, that for so greate an offence God woulde not punish them in their persons, nor spoyle their goods, nor reuerse their cities, and much lesse take from them their vices, but onely chastised them in their tongues agaynst whose pride and arrogancie it is a good argument that god bare a greater displeasure, than against the huge tower they had erected. For that if he had not more despised their conspiring tongues, than their subtile buildings he would rather haue defaced their tower, than confused and changed their languages. Besore these cursed Babylonians drewe into counsell to builde this tower, the whole worlde spake but one sorte and phrase of language: but God, seeing the disposition of people & nations declining to doe wickedly, toke from them the manner of speaking, where (if it had so pleased him) he might haue drownded them, as he did the armie of Pharoe: or stricken them blinde, as he did the Sodomites: or haue burnt them quicke as he did the children of Aaron. But according to the custome of his iustice, since with their tongs they had disobeyed him, he prouided that in their tongs more than in any other thing, was published their punishment. Oh men in these times woulde looke vp to the iustice whiche God thunders vpon Babylon: so shoulde they forget to murmur, and forbare to blaspheme, yea, if the impression of those threatens woulde take place in their mindes, I doubt not but the backbiters woulde turne their tongues from flander, and all menne cease to sinne: yea, if consideration of Gods iustice shode afoze the secrete conscience and iudgementes of Princes, they woulde not be so subiecte to flatterie, although the tyme is now growen to this corruption, that who cannot flatter is esteemed eyther malicious or proude.

In no estate
is it seemly
to be by-
ting in
wordes,

Who can
not flatter
is esteemed
either mali-
cious or
proude.

Suche is the danger of the tongue, that if it be not restrained

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We offende
not more in
any other
member
than in the
tong.

Sanguis tu-
us sit super
caput tuum
2. King. 1.

to order and limit, it hath a naturall libertie to speake euen to our owne hurt: and the speach being none other thing than the ymage and figure of the minde, there is no lesse necessitie of temperaunce and counsell in the controlment of our tounge, then to gouerne our conscience. There is no other member appertayning to man, wherein we haue a more facilitie to offende, than in the tounge, by whose vnbridled swiftnesse we are oftentimes carryed into voyces sounding euen to our proper harmes, as happened to the Amalechite that broughte Dauid the first newes of the death of Saul: I come from the campe of Hebrues (sayth he) and bring thee tydings that thy auncient enemy king Saul is dead, whereof these eyes are true witnesses, for that these handes slewe hym obeying hys owne requeste. But Dauid notwithstanding he was deliuered of an enemy, coulde not but disdaine the boldnesse of the messenger to laye violence handes vpon the Lordes annointed, and therefore he gaue this sentence of him. Let thy bloude bee vpon thine owne heade, since thy mouth hath condemned thy life, and thy selfe hast spoken against thy selfe, saying: I haue killed the annointed of the Lord, whose garment thou oughtest not so much as too touche, and muche lesse spoile the libertie of hys life. Here Dauid did not iustice vpon this messenger so muche for the murder he had done, as for that he made vaunte & glorie of it: so that as he slewe Saule with the sworde, so also he killed himself with hys proper tounge. And albeit in respecte of the auncients quarrell and warres betwene Saule and Dauid, this poore Amalechite had thoughte to haue bene the bringer of gladde tydings, and for recompence to haue receiued greate aduancement: yet greater was the consideration of Dauid to reuenge the offence done against God, then either to reioyce in the newes, or regarde the comodities that grew to him by the death of king Saul: wherein, by so muche was his perfection and charitie greater, by howe much he did not only waite for the death of his enemy, and honoured him wth funeral pompe & burying, but also he gaue reuenge to his death. In that fearefull discourse whiche Christe makes of the riche man and Lazarus in the other worlde, we finde that the rich man cryed vnto Abraham to haue pitie on him: at least wyls that

that he would send Lazarus to touch with his finger the flame and heate of his toung: which request, albeit it seeme to carrie no face of impoꝛtaunce oꝛ greatnesse, yet the vpꝛight iustice of god would neyther heare noꝛ helpe him : soꝛ that in his prosperitie hauing denyed to the poꝛe the verie crummes falling from his table, by what reason coulde he deserue a droppe of water to refreshe oꝛ comfort his necessities? And where by the testimonie of the scripture, we finde that this wretched riche man was both a glutton, and an epicure in delightes of banquets, garments & al other sensualities yet it is apparaunte that in no parte of his bodye he feelles suche soꝛowe, as in his toung, noꝛ in anye soꝛte commits so greate sinnes as in speaking. By whose example and punishment, let all men in their conuersation bꝛing foꝛth vertue, and in their speache vse counsell and discretion, (since The next waye to liue in honour and die with praise, is to bee honest in desires, and to haue a toung well corrected. And so foꝛ ende, if to Caine, Lucifer, Senacherib, the builders of the tower of Babylon, the murderer of Saule, and the wicked riche man, had not bene toyꝛned vaine tonges to pronounce disdaynful & vndiscrete things, it may be beleued y they had not with such lightnesse haue lost their liues in this world, noꝛ in the other, hadde put their soules vnder perpetual damnation.

But nowe, hauing proued holwe the tong hath bene to manye the cause of their death : let vs also in an other example of the pietie of Dauid, proue that in it hath bene the occasion of life (acꝛording to the argument of our theame, That life and death are in the power of the tong.) In the bodie of man, the most necessarie member is the heart: the godliest instrument are the eyes : the partes most delicate are the eares: and the thing wherein is most daunger with god reason we maye saye is the tong. For that the hearte thinketh only, the will consentes, the eares heare, the hands strike, but to the toung is tyed a propertie to kill and slep. And as our tong is none other thing than as a white wall, whereon the wise manne maye painte deuoute Images, and the fowle drawe things vaine and sonde : so to him that can vse his toung

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well, it is an instrument that may worke to his saluation, as of the contrarie, who imployeth it in ill seruices, it is sufficiente to his damnation. For the heart being the forge whereon our wicked plottes are wrought, then that which our tong pronounceth is none other thing than the price and publication of the sinnes whiche we haue within our hearte. But now to the Historie of King Dauid, a thing no lesse pitifull to heare, than necessarie to know: for y the discourse leaues to al Christians a true experience what weakenesse we haue to fall, and with what readinesse we maye eftsomes rise againe. As king Saule by Gods will was depriued of his kingdome, so in his place the eternall prouidence raised the holie king Dauid, who in the sighte of the Lorde founde so muche grace, as the wicked Saule was disfaoured. So G D D loued Dauid, that amongst all the Patriarches he made him most honoured, amongst the Prophetes beste inspired, amongst the Captaynes moste feared, and amongst the kyngs best esteemed and loued: yea he founde him so agréable in his sight, that he promised and swoze to discende of his race, bearing himselfe such witnesse of his holinesse, that he confessed that amongst all the children of Israel, he hadde founde and chosen Dauid as beste pleasing his hearte and most agréable to hys wil: and so was Dauid loued of G D D wyth a diuine affection for that he serued him with al his heart: by which we may iudge that with one equall weight or measure, are peysed the loue whyche G D D beares to vs, and the seruices whiche we doe to him. But as ydlenesse is the enemye of vertue and the verie traine to all wickednesse, it happened that Dauid being in his palaice, wel disposed of his person, and mightie in countries (but hys mynde enuironed with ydlenesse) he fell into an accidente moste preiudicial to his renoume, and no lesse infamous to hys common weale. Whereby Princes may see, that more punishment do they deserue for the euill example they shewe, then for the vices they committe. For, it had not happened so to the good king Dauid, if he had bene either wyting of Psalmes, or busie in some expedition of warre, or at leaste managing some other his affaires of importaunce: but suche is the resolution of G D D, and

Inueni virū
secundum
cor meum.

God loues
vs with the
same mea-
sure where-
with wee
serue him.

and so it is, so it hath bene, and so it shall be, that from the time that princes take truce with their enemies, they set at libertie the floude of vices to runne with maine streame into their Courtes and palaces, according to the testimonie of Saint Augustine in his booke *De ciuitate Dei*.

More hurtfull was the Citie of Carthage to Rome, after hyr destruction, than during the whole course and season of warres whyche the Romaines hadde wyth hyr: for that whilest they had enemies in Affrike, they knewe not what vices ment in Rome. But nowe effstones to the historie. David being ydle in his gallerie, behelde the beautie of Bethsabe the wife of Vrias being then in the warres, and applying the absence of hir husband to the commoditie of his desire, what with his great importunitie, and hir small constancie, he committed adulterie and gat hir wyth childe: and fearing detection of the facte, he wrote speedilye to Ioab his Generall in those warres, that at the time of the assault, Vrias might be preferred to the perill of his life: wherein, according to the societie that is in sinne, it seemed that from one offence he appealed to an other, as from Epicuritie, he fell to idlenesse, ydlenesse bredde in hym foule desires, by desire he was driuen to solicite, by soliciting he beguiled hir weakenesse, and after he hadde beguiled hyr, he fell to adulterie, and from adulterie to murther, so that the Diuell hadde neuer decciued him, if himselfe hadde not pitched the toyles of his proper harmes: yea, if David hadde so serued *G D D*, as *G D D* loued him, he had neuer suffered him to fall so farre. For, with suche care doeth the Lorde holde vp such as strive to serue him, that he neuer suffereth them to fall into greate sinnes. But if we doe flyde, stumble, and hurte our selues, let vs not be amazed, for euen the same infirmities are common to angels: therefore, when we pray to God, we oughte to demaunde with teares and contrition, for that, if he then suffer vs to fal, he wil also giue vs grace to rise again. So prouidente is the Lorde ouer the vertuous, (sayeth the Prophet) and so carelesse to the sinner, that if the iuste man swimme vpon the maine sea, he wyll not suffer hym to be drowned: where the wicked walking vppon the firme lande; shall fall headlong

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The con-
clusion.

long into Welles and deepe pittes : whyche the Scripture doeth construe to that soule and huge enormitie of sinnes, of the whiche he hath no power to repent . All thys I haue written vppon the occasion of sinnes, wherein King David fell , who notwithstanding vsed suche diligence to ryle agayne, and from the tyme of hys restitution so laboured to liue in Gods feare, that albeit he was brused with his fall , yet he was not greatly hurt. Immediately then that the Lord aduertised David by the prophet Nathan, that he was so much kindled against him both for his adulterie and murder, that he would sende vppon him punishment according to the greatnesse of his faulte : the good king lifte vp his heart and handes to the Lorde, and cryed *Peccavi*, and confessing himselfe to be abhominable sinner, he rent the heauens with his sighes, and watered the earth wth his infinit teares, wherein it is not to be doubted but that his exercise of so vnfained repentance, and confession of hys faulte, was a greafe degree to hys forgiveness. He willed not the Prophete to dispute with God, and saye on his behalfe that he was frayle , or that the Diuell had deceined him , or that it was a sinne humaine : but he aspiring to the mercie of God, exhibited confession of his fault, saying, *Tibi soli peccavi, & malum coram te feci* : Wherein, in not seeking to iustifie his fault he founde forgiveness of his trespasses. Here may be gathered to the comfort of all good christians, that after David had sinned, he went not so soone to searce God, as God was readie to receiue him, whose prouidence and perfection is suche ouer hys chosē, that though they fall into any notozious crime, yet he suffereth them to haue to perseuerance in it, according to the experience of his heauenlie bountie, exprest vpon Saint Matthew and Saint Paule, whom Christ searched, with the blind man neare the the high waye, with others of whome the Scripture giues testimonie that Christ searched them. Then let all the Christians confesse the wonderfull clemencie of G D D , who euen in our negligence goeth to seeke vs : though we praye hym not , yet he prayeth vs, and where we forget to call to hym, he sayles not to cal vpon vs, that if we lose our selues , and bee the instrumentes of our owne destruction, it is not so muche for
that

that we haue sinned, as for that after our transgression, we
 will not beleue. Let vs therfore take pleasure to heare when
 God calleth vs : let vs be glad to be founde when the Lord
 searcheth vs : let vs be readie to followe when he guides vs : let
 vs be willing to beleue when he takes from vs all deceite : and
 let vs thinke vs happye to serue him, when he is disposed to
 paye vs our hyre: *Pea*, since he is so liberrall and pitifull towarde
 vs, let vs with the counsell of Saint Paule, Go with confidence to
 the throne of his grace. For, seeing he wente to seeke David who
 had offended him, let vs beleue that he will be founde and en-
 treated of any that is his true seruaunte, (the conditions of the
 house of God being such, that as none are compelled to enter in
 to it, so it resistes none that knocke at the gates.) Where David
 stode not to reason with him selfe that he had sinned in this, or in
 that: we haue to gather by him, that the matter of our saluation
 consists not so much in multiplication of wordes, as to correct our
 lines and increase daily in good dedes. And truely God hathe no
 necessitie of great cryes, to the end he may heare vs, and lesse need
 of many reasons to persuaade him to vnderstand vs (since David
 sed no other solicitor for the remouing of Gods wrath, then the
 imploration of a penitent heart, crying : *Tibi, tibi solum peccavi & co-
 ram te malum feci.* *Pea*, though men regard for the most part) the
 composition of the tong, yet with God the impression of the hart stands
 alwayes moste acceptable, as appeared in this conuersion of Da-
 uid, who acknowledging simply that he had sinned without fur-
 ther dispute with God, the Lord was neither scrupulous nor sus-
 picious for that he spake no more but one worde, but hadde re-
 garde to the sinceritie of the heart wherewith he repented. Oh
 omnipotent Iesus and swete comforte of our soules, graunte
 that with David, we maye cease to sinne and beginne to amend
 our life, and let vs wpyth Saint Paule confesse our sinnes with in-
 tention to offende no more : and where, by our proper corrup-
 tion, we are subiecte to daylye transgression without the ayde
 of the holye Spirit, graunt that as thy lawe is replenished with
 mercie, so wpyth David we maye finde remission, confessing wpyth
 him,

*Eamus cum
 fiducia ad
 thronum
 gratiae eius.*

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him, that we haue sinned with intent to offende no more. Let vs (in the deuotion of Dauid) recomende to Gods mercie the faultes and ignoraunces of our youth, for that in that tender age we know not what we did, and were ignoraunte in that we oughte to do. Wherein, where Dauid asked pardon of God onely for the transgressions of his youth, and not for the sinnes he committed when he was olde, and well experienced in the thinges of the world (the faultes of which age are not to be called ignoraunces, but malices: not simplicities, but filthy enozmities: not light vanities, but heauie vices: & not faults done for want of knowledge, but offences committed with well aduised will and resolution:) we haue reason to thinke, that if his olde age had bene also defiled with crimes and sinne, he had likewise offered them vp as a sacrifice with the confession of the abuses of his youth. By which is well proued, that much doth it impoꝛte when God pardoneth our sinnes past, without sufferance estsones to returne and fall into them againe. For Dauid had no sōner cryed *Peccauit*, than God was readie to answer, Lo here I forgiue thee. Whereby it is manifest that we are moze slowe to confesse our offences, than God to exhibite his mercie.

And so for ende of thys discourse, That life and death are in the power of the tong, we see that as to many it hath bene the occasion of death, so to the good king Dauid, it was the meane to preserve his life here through grace, and in the other world to establish it in eternall glorie, to the which the spirit of God bring vs al. Amen.

A letter to a great learned man aunswering to certaine demaundes.



This hath bene always one strong propertie in your friendship, that the moze I trauelled to serue you, the moze you studied to trouble me, and that not so much for necessitie of matter, as with intencion to exercise and proue my skil: where in albeit to your witte is ioyned a naturall readinesse moze than in many others, yet your curiosnesse

nesse brings with it this suspition, that you haue more wante of iudgement than lacke of time, speciallie desiring aunswere to those demaundes, whose vse oughte to be familiar with all men that beare opinio of knowledge or science. And where you wrote to me, but in sport, and for the experience of your memorie, I will notwithstanding aunswere you in good earnest, following therin the maner of y^e auncient orators, who in causes mosse base and of leasste impo^rtaunce, expressed a greatest shewe of their eloquence.

Demaundes and aunsweres.

Where you aske me how one man may knowe an other, to the ende he may be either accepted or eschued: I answere y^e there be foure rules to instruct you. Firste, what affaires he takes in hande, what workes he doth, what wordes he speaketh, and what companie he followeth: For, the man that of nature is proude, in his businesse negligent, in his words a lyer, and calleth to his companions euil men, deserues not to be imbraced, and muche lesse to be trusted: since, in men, in whom is laide no grounde of vertue, is no expectation of faith or honestie. You aske me what be the things that in this life cannot be bought for treasure, and much lesse any liuing thing can holde value and comparison with them: I answere they be these foure: the libertie we haue, the science we learne, the health we enioye, and the vertue for the which we deserue commendation. Libertie lighteth the hearte, knowledge enricheth the vnderstanding, health preserues our life, and vertue is the glorie of the soule: all which are so muche the more precious, by how muche they are the true figures & forerunners of Gods grace to suche as it please him to esteeme and chouse. Where you aske me what be the things whiche soonest deceiue man, and by whose meanes he runnes with more readines into destruction: I say they be in these foure: a thirst to haue much, a desire to knowe much, an experience to liue long, and an ouerwining of our owne worthinesse and value: all which are most dangerous stumbling blocks to make man fall, for that too great knowledge endes with follie, too muche wealth breeds pride, in
liuing

How to know a good man.

What things are most precious & yet not to be bought for money.

What things soonest deceiue man.

Golden Epistles.

Four things
necessary
to a
iudge.

Four things
necessary
to
instruct the
behaviour
of man,

Four things
which
though wee
think wee
haue yet we
haue them
not.

Things
wherin a man
doth the so-
onest vndoe
him selfe &
is moſte
ſlowly reco-
uered.

liuing long we grow negligent, and in presuming of our owne va-
lue, we fall into forgetfulness of our selues: so that as euery one of
these in particular is sufficient to make a man fall, so, in them all is
full abilitie to holde him downe that he neuer rise againe. To your
demande what things are necessarie to a Iudge, to the ende he may
vse trueth and equitie, and not be noted of tyrannie? I answere,
that he ought to heare patiently and sweare wisely, iudge iustly, and
execute mercifully, so, to that Iudge that is impatient in hearing,
vaine or frayle in his answeres, parcial in Iudgement, and cruel
in execution, cannot worthely be adscribed the administration of
iustice, since the office of a good Iudge is to consulte with the lawe,
with religion, with sayth, with equitie and with mercie. You aske
me: what be the things that make a man discrete in his behavi-
our, & wise in his wordes? Wherevnto I answear, to reade muche
to be p̄uie to the customes of many countries, to haue indured
many perplexities, and managed greate affayres: so, to rayse a mā
to the true estimation of wisdom, is to trauell manye coun-
tries, to study many lawes & doctrines, to be able to indure manye
paynes, and to haue experience of graue affayres. To your demāde
what be the things that a man thinks he hath when he hath them
not? I say they are these foure, Many friends, greate wisdom,
much knowledge, and greate power, so, that there is no man how
mightie so euer he be who is not subiect to be vanquished by an o-
ther, no man so wise in whose doings is not error, no mans know-
ledge so resolute, who is not ignorant in some things, nor any
man so well beloued who hath not some secreete encmie: so that
we haue fewer friends than we suppose, our power lesse than we
desire, our knowledge not so much as we presume, and all our wis-
dome full of imperfection. Touching your demands to know what
be the things wherin a man doth the soonest vndoe him selfe, and
most slowly recover? I say they be these foure: to be dilatorie in
his businesse, to forsake the counsell of a saythfull friende, to meddle
with things that he ought not, and to dispende aboue his portion,
so, the man is negligent in that he takes in hande forbeareth the
advice of his wise friend, toyneth him selfe to affayres of perill and
difficultie, and dispendeth aboue the measure of his reuenue, suche
one shall easily fall and finde no helpe to rise againe. You aske me
what

What be the things whiche aboue all other a man would not endure? I say they be these foure: pouertie in olde age, sicknesse in person, infamie after honour, and banishment from his naturall coutry: for, to be sicke in person, to be poore and olde, to be detected after we haue bo:ne hono:, & to be exiled without hope of returne to recouer y^e solace of our countrie, be passions so intollerable, y^e to y^e baliant minde an honest death were moze plausible, than to languish like a marty: in such a miserable life. And where you aske me, what be the things which God abhorreth, & are abominable to men? I aunswere, they are comprehended in these foure: a poore man to be proude, a rich man to be couetous, an olde man to be lecherous, and a yong man shamelesse: For, where yong men are impudent, olde men without modestie, poore men bope of humilitie, and the riche sort diuided from charitie, there can be no vertue cherished, no: good exāple ministred. You aske me what ought to be the qualities of suche as men chōse to their friendes, and in whom they may repose and take recreation: To such friendes belong these foure conditions: To be eloquent, to be liberall, to be tractable, and to be trustie: For, where is a swete affabilitie of speech, a franke liberalitie of that they haue, a nature easie to be induced, and a mind that brookes no corruption, there is no doubt of honestie, and lesse suspicion of treason. To your demaunde to knowe in what things a man receiueth most sorrowe, and hys minde most troubled? I aunswere that it is in these foure: To see the death of his children, to heare of the losse of his goods, to behold the prosperitie of his enemies, and can not refo:me the vanities of his friendes. Nature sure can not minister a moze torment to the heart of a man, than to burie his children he hathe nourished, to lose the goods he hath got together, to be subiect to his enemye, and see his friend continue in abuse and follie. You aske me what be the things for the which a man doeth most murmur, and disclose swetest his impacientie: They be these foure. To serue without recompence, to aske and be denyed, to giue without thanks, and to hope for things that come not: For that, where to a benefitt is offered vnthankfulnessse, and to a iuste demaunde is added denyall, where no recompence foloweth due merite of seruice, and where that comes not whych we hope for:

What be the things which a man would not willingly indure.

Foure things which God abhorreth and are abominable to man.

Foure qualities necessarie to a friende.

Foure things that most trouble a man.

Foure things which soonest disclose mens impacientie.

Four things
seldome
satisfied.

Four things
which
men cannot
chuse but
feele and
are lesse a-
ble to con-
ceale.

Four things
in a mā
moſt praiſe
worthe.

Who they
be that moſt
readily get
friends and
as eaſily
loſe them.

Four con-
ditions of a
ſervant.

Wh, in thoſe cauſes though the hearte be drinen to ſuffer, yet the
tongue can not be ſilence. You aſke me what be the ſoure things
that rather dye than are ſatisfied? And I anſweare, that how olde
ſo euer men be, and their bodies broken with extream trauels, yet
you ſhall neuer ſee their tongue ſatisfied with ſpeaking ſuperfluous
things, their eares weary with hearing nouelties, their hands clot-
ed with doing wickedly, nor their heart ceaſe to deſire vanities: you
aſke me what be the things which men can not chule but feele, &
are lesſe able to conceale? They be theſe ſoure, Riches, loue, ſorrow
and euil will: For, loue is diſcouered by ſighs, hatred appeareth in
the eyes, riches are expreſſed in the port and countenance, and do-
lour declares himſelfe by complainte, ſo that where ſome men may
for a time diſſemble them, yet none can long conceale them. Whether
you aſke me what be the things in a man moſt praiſe worthe
and aboue all other to be eſteemed beſt? You ſhall finde them com-
prehended in theſe ſoure. What is to ſay, to be a good Chriſtian, to be
vpright and true, to be patiente, and to be ſecrete, for, that man
in hys workes ſhall expreſſe the ductie of a good Chriſtian, and
in iniuries ſhall be patiente and diſcretion, in hys wordes de-
liuer ſimplicitie, and truth, and haue Iudgement to keepe
things ſecrete, ſuch a one be holde to cloaſe in your ſtomache,
and laye vppon for hym the rewarde of an vſeyned affection. You
aſke me who they be, that moſt readilie gette friendes, and as
eaſilie loſe them? Whereunto I anſweare, that they be theſe
four ſortes, the riche ſorte, young men, ſuche as are myghty,
and thoſe that are fauoured of Princes. For ſome doeth the riche
man loſe hys friendes, when he comes to be poore, and ſoner is
you a man forgotten when he fallies into age, eaſilie ys the migh-
tie man forſaken when hys power ys taken from hym, and ſoneſt
of all fallies the creditte of the Courtier, when the Prince with-
draues hys fauoure. You aſke me what ought to be the condi-
tions of one that entereth ſervice? To hym I appoynte theſe ſoure
to be diligent, to be patient, to be faythfull and to be true:
for, the ſervante that can ſuffer when he ys rebuked, is iuſte
in the Office and charge committed to hym, diligent to learne that
he knoweth not, and faythfull in thinges committed to hys
truſte:

trusse : let the mayster be gladd in sucche a seruante, and that seruante not doubt of hys advancement . You aske me what be the thynges whych women desire moste, and holde themselves beste contented wythall : Sure I wyll so beare to describe their particular fancies : so that their desires are wyl cut limite, and therefoze ; according to my order in the reste, I will restrayne them into these foure. To be gorgeously apparelled, to be esteemed sayre, to goe whether they lyst, and that men beleue what they say : so, to a woman no lesse glorious are hir garmentes, hir beuty hir opinion of creditte, and hir libertie, than the plumes of a Peacock, who in other respectes is both loathsome and unacceptable. You aske me with what obseruations we ought to giue when we giue any thyng : Whereunto I answere, that in at ministring liberalitie all men are tyed to these foure respectes : to consider well what we giue, to knowe to whome we giue, to vnderstande the cause why we giue, and to haue regarde to the time when we giue. so, it is needefull we iudge and weigh the value and qualitie of our gift, lest we giue lesse than to suffice y necessity of him, to whō we giue: to know to whō we giue least there be no merite, no iust necessity in y persō, to examine well the occasion why we giue, to the end y it be so good respect: and aboue al, who obserues not the tyme, giues perhaps to no fruit or commoditie of hym y receiveth: so that who gines out of these conditions, giues not in true liberalitie, but as the blynde man, who weening to powre drinke into hys dyshe, powreth it into y riuier which hath no nede to be liquored. Where you aske me what be the qualities moste necessarie in a Prince helping beste to maytayne hys reputation: I say they consist in these foure : to haue courage or vertue to suffer, a hearte to gyue, a hand to rewarde, and clemencie to pardon : all other imperfections ought to be suffered in a Prince, if there be onely scunde in hym clemencie to forgiue faultes, liberalitie to giue dignities, a memoire to adde recompence to seruices, and patience to suffer traunyles and chaunces. Where you aske me what thinges a Gentleman ought moste to take hede of, and wherof he is the soonest noted : I sende you them comprized in these foure : in cowardyse, in pygardnesse, in lying, and in iniustice : so, the gentle-

Foure desires of women.

Foure obseruations to be vsed in giuing,

Foure necessarie qualities in a prince helping to maintayne his reputation.

Foure thinges which a Gentleman had moste neede to take hede of and wherof he is moste noted.

Poure qual-
ities inci-
dent to a
maide to
winne hir
renowne.

man that in warre is a coward, in his house a niggard, in his countrey a tyrant, and in his words a liar, much lesse that to suche one is due by merit and reputation of a gentleman, seeing he is not worthy to communicate with the fellowship euen of the meanest estate of a common weale. And where you aske me by what qualities a mayd is to winne hir renowme and estimation? I say that it is necessarie she be faire of face, honest in life, an enemy to libertie, and a despiser of hautes and dissolute persons: for that if in hir face she shew not a pleasing beautie, and in hir conuersation bring not forth honestie and vertue, if she be a wanderer after libertie, and delighte to whisper & haue intelligence with secreete messengers, hir renowme shal runne as a streame that neuer ceaseth til it fall into a puddle that can not estones be repurified. Thus (sir) are your demaundes answered, though not with such plentie of eloquence as you looked for: yet with that fulnesse of matter as may well suffice for your instruction, speciall ye being not drawne out of anye great volumes or antiquities, but compounded of mine owne experience and common reason.

Touching the warre which a man makes against himselfe.

Factos sum
mihi met-
ipsi grauis.



Of complayning in great affliction, confessed that he was made grieuous euen to himselfe. Meaning that with better reason coulde not he complaine against any, than against himselfe, for that being contrarie to himselfe, he heaped bys proper affliction. This sort of complayning is so much the more straunge, by how much it exceeds the common custome and experience of men in that case. For that, how deepe soeuer any man be intangled with sinne and crime, yea, though he stande conuicted, yet will he rather labour to detect others than accuse him selfe. And albeit there is nothing more common in this worlde than to fall, to offend, and dwell in sinne and wickednesse, yet in few men is founde a disposition to par-
don

don iniuries, but in secret is expresse a will to expresse their proper error. For that, to fall and erre is a thing humane, to repent comes of God, but to continue in euill cannot but be of the diuell. Men complayne of the earth for that it is vnfruitfull, and of the sea saying it is dangerous, they mislike the ayre, because it is corrupt they cry out of fortune by reason of hir inconstancie, they grudge agaynst their friends when they are founde vnfaithfull, and cry out of the tyme that slippes away so fast: those men (for the moste part) as they complayne moze by custome than vpon any cause, so albeit there is no man which in true examination is not the instrument of his proper harme, yet we heare none complayne agaynst them selues. But as one not cunning at dice, blames not himselfe that vnderstandeth not the game but the dyce that run not as hee woulde haue them: so, forbearing to descende into conference and examination of our secret faults, we murmur against that we feele, and searche not out the occasion of our tozment, to the end to remoue the furie of the affliction, For if we would draw into view and consideration our abuses past, and way in one balance aswell the faults we haue done, as the punishments we feele, we should confesse that God toucheth vs but with a milde iustice, and spareth to visite vs according to the heauines of our desertes. Yea, if this regard were familiar with men, who woulde not forbear to murmur, & begin to make warre agaynst himselfe as being the authour of his owne harmes? But because this text of Iob complayning, That he maketh warre against him selfe, is of importance and containeth mysterie we haue to gather that he meaneth not here the war of one kingdome against another, nor ciuill warre of towne against towne, & much lesse the warre of singuler combate of man against man: but (sayth he) this warre that I make is againste my selfe, no manne assaulting or offending me: a warre, sure, of all others most dangerous to take in hande, and of no lesse difficultie to manage, for in this war, who is victor remains vanquished, and he that is ouercome carryeth the victorie. This warre is called *Viscerall*, for that it is bredde and begon in the hearte, and dissolueeth and takes ende in the hearte, where the arrowes be the teares we shed, the Cannon shot be the sighes we vtter, and who retyleth it offe to

Golden Epistles.

In conquering sensuality, we get the victorie of our salvation.

forrow and heavines, in this warre hath most knowledge and experience. In this warre fight together loue and feare, swetnesse and bitternesse, abstinencie and Epicuritie, robberie and almes, reason and sensualitie, slouth and diligence, anger and patience, couetousnesse and liberalitie, forgiveness and reuenge: so that in this wretched warre we fight not accompanied, but alone, not in publike, but in secrete, not in campe, but in conscience, not wyth sword, but with thoughtes and remorse, & not against enemies, but euen against our selues. This warre is not sene wyth the eye, but felte (alas) in the hearte: yea and if we will baunte to bee victors, we must suffer our selues to be vanquished. In this warre haue bene dissolved and determind all the good and vertuous men that haue bene in the worlde to this presente, who by so muche haue bene more agreeable to God, by howe muche they were contrarie to themselves. For, in the subduing or victorie which is betwene sensualitie and reason, lyeth our destruction or saluation. It is a thing worthy of wonder and admiration, that Iob hauing sene the spoyle and hauocke of his gods, hearde of the sodayns death of hys children, his bodie reduced to a deformitie with botches, him selfe laide on a dunghill where wormes hadde libertie to gnawe his fleshe, his friends disdayning him, his wife bering him: and yet he neuer murmured so much against al these heauie perplexities and fortunes, as he complayned against himselfe, crying: Lo I am made greuous to my selfe. Of this warre and against himselfe did the Apostle complayne in these wordes: *Infelix homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius?* Oh wretched and miserable man that I am, when shall I see my selfe free from my selfe, that I may doe that I woulde, and not to be compelled (as I am now) to will that which I can not? Oh how often doe I feele my selfe tyed and fettered (sayeth Saint Augustine) not with chaines of yron but with the corde of mine owne sensualities: so y resolved wholly into teares, I cōplaine not of an other, but against my selfe, for that, giuing to the enemy my quarrel, I did against my will. With this agreeth Anselmus in his holie meditations, saying: Oh infelicitie of men, I know not what to doe nor what to saye: for, being contrarie to my selfe, though I haue libertie to complaine: yet doe I put no order to my faultes being

being made grienous enen to my selfe. The passions of this war were also felt of the holie man, Saint Bernarde: Oh swete Lorde (sayth he) I am so grienous to my selfe, that hunger weakeneth me, eating wearieth me, colde restraineth me, heate annoyeth me, care makes me heauie, and companie is importunate to mee, and that which I finde most harde & intollerable, is that nothing contents me, being with my selfe muche discontented. Saint Hierome also seemed to communicate in this agonie, saying: I cannot denie but that I am made greauous to my selfe: since as Sathan solicites and my fleshe consenteth, so my sensualitie desireth to haue honours, to get riches, to purchase fauour: I would gouerne all, be of greate power, and esteeme of no man: yea, in the matter of commaundement and auctoritie I would be alone and singular, and wholy exempte from all trauell. But so grienous am I to my selfe, that though I diuide my selfe from men, bycause they shall not trouble me: though I flee from Sathan, so that he shall not deceiue me: though I renounce riches, to the ende they corrupt me not: and despise honours, so that they shall not make me proude: yet I finde my selfe from one day to another to diminish in vertue, and moze to be swallowed vp into the gulphes of the world. I haue inferred the testimonies of these holye personages, the better to warne vs sinners, that as they complayned of them selues not without reason, so, we shoulde not repose confidence in our selues by presumption: For, the wise man ought not to be so suspicious of any as of hym selfe. We are made grienous to our selues: For that if the pzince owe vs displeasure, we maye forsake the realme: If the iudge be against vs, we may challenge him and refuse him: And if our neighbour be troublesome to vs, our helpe is to diuide vs from his neighbourhood: But if we be enemies to our selues, it is impossible to flee from our selues. We are grienous to our selues, For y in one hart, & in one selfe house, we must locke vp and keepe loue & hatred, contentment & displeasure, prosperity and aduersitie consent & denial, and hope and dispaire: So that we trust our selues too muche, being of our selues deceptued. We are made grienous to our selues: since as well daye as night we are vnresolute what we ought to chouse or refuse, what we shoulde loue or hate, what we are bounde to flee or followe,

A wise man
ought not
to be suspi-
ous of him-
selfe.

Golden Epistles.

What belongs to vs to giue o: to keepe, wherein we oughte to speake o: to holde our peace, and whether we should suffer o: reuenge: wherein in the ende we finde our selues vnhappye in all things sauing y^euen in our infelicities we are happye. We are grieuous to our selues: since all the delightes of this life displease vs, wearie vs, and turne to our discontentmente: and yet being wearie to liue, we woulde in no wise die: yea though we abstaine sometime from sinne, it is not fo: wante of will, but because we can not, as men that are tyed and haue no facultie to go further. We are made grieuous against our selues: fo: that if we be sicke, it comes through our owne surfeit and disorder: if we be poore, it is because we liue idlie: and if we be punished by the magistrate, it is fo: that we haue offended the lawes: so that in none is so iust cause of complaint against anye, as in man againste himselfe: fo: that all the trauels, perplexities, and infirmities, that trauell our fraile bodie, our selues do b:arde them, and fo: the most part we go out and search them. Fo: in giuing libertie to our eyes to behold things vaine, in suffering our tong to tell vntruthes, in yielding our eares to heare flatteries, and our hart to loue things that we ought not: I say, if there be in vs any member that abstaines from sinne it is not through any resistaunce that we make, but fo: feare of some punishment.

Then, if it be true that we raise warre against our selues, with whom shall we haue true peace? If we worke our owne afflictions, in whom shall we finde comfo:te? to whom shall we not be hurtful, if we be enemies to our selues? against whom may we make complainte, seeing of our selues we receiue the iniuries? There is in vs no hope o: expectation of profit to others, when we are hurtful instruments against our selues. Oh wretched infelicite of man, to whom there are none so furious and raging enemies as his proper desires: who on the one side holde him in feare, and on the other giue him courage and hearte. Sure, wee ought to be grieuous against our selues, when we remember the greate wealth we haue, and the little good we doe with it, when we conferre our time lost, with the euil example we haue exp:essed: yea, when we measure the benefitts we haue receiued, with our ingratitude: our readinesse to sinne with our slownes to amendes

amende (the ill that we haue done, with the good we mighte haue done: we oughte (I saye) in true conference and consideration of these things, to be ashamed to liue, and haue greate feare to dye.

Plutarche writeth to the Emperour Traiane, being lately his disciple, and now raised to the Empire, A letter tending to instruct princes newly raised to principalities.

Right excellent Prince: albeit the long experience I haue had of the moderation of your will, together with what disposition you haue alwayes affected estates and dignities: yet I haue neuer knowen you subiect to those desires which for the most part gouerne mosse men; that is, to aspire to kingdomes and principalities: A man to forbear to winne and purchase honour, is out of the limits of wisdom, but not to giue libertie to the heart to desire it, is sure a vertue more diuine than humane. For, that man doth ynoughe who restraineth the action that the hands haue power to execute, and maketh his desires equall with things honest, indifferente, and reasonable: wherein with iust cause may I say thy empire is happie, since thou hast done actes to deserue it, and vsed no corrupt industrie to purchase it. For, dignities appertayning properly to vertue, vertue of hir selfe transferreth them to those men, to whom hir selfe is conioyned. There haue bene manye Emperours, who haue not bene so muche honoured for the estates they haue hadde, as for the merite of their vertues by the which they haue bene raised vnto them. For, the honour of a man consistes not so much in the presente office he hath, as in the vertues and merites which followed his life afore: so that it is to offices that men giue new honour, where to the personage belongs nothing but paine and charge. And therefore remembryng for mine owne part, that I haue gouerned thy youth and instructed thy wit with good learning, I cannot but reioyce as muche in thy excellent

V. v,

vertues,

Golden Epistles.

vertues, as in thy supream fortune, alluding to my selfe no smal happines, that in my time Rome hath a Lorde, even he that hath bene my disciple.

Principalities of tyrannie are gotte by force and susteyned by armes, whiche as I haue alwayes knowen to be far from thy nature and condition, so haste thou now to remember, that thou oughtest to doe nothing to bring thee into the opinion and suspition of men. For as the Empire is descended vnto thee with the voyce and consent of all men, so it belonges to thee to entertaine it wth due Justice towarde all sortes: wherein, if thou beeste thankfull to the greate God, patient in chaunces and fortunes, carefull in daungers, mylde to the people, and affable to strangers, not greedy of riches, nor a louer of thy proper desires, & burthen of thy place will be easie, thy renoume perpetuall, and all commune weales and posterities made happie by thy example. I aduise thee wth greate reason, not to be a follower of thy proper desires, for that there can be no worse government than that which is managed by opinion onely: since he that administreth in a commune weale, ought to line in feare of all, but muche more of hymselfe, for that muche more is he subiecte to fayle and erre, following his wyl, and fancie, than if he followed the direction of his well aduised counsell, assuring thee, that to auoyde infamie to thy selfe, and prejudice to thy people, thou oughtest first to apply correction to thy selfe, afore thou minister discipline to others. Wherefore, it weare good that now that thou commaundest, thou shouldest expresse thy selfe such one as when thou wast commaunded: for, other wayes little woulde it serue thee by thy vertues to haue deserued the empire if afterwarde thy wante of government made thee vntowthie to vse it: since it is more towthie to deserue honoure than to possesse it. To attayne to honoure is a worke humane, but to preserue it is a grace diuine: and therefore thou haste to take harte, that though thou arte a soueraigne Prince, yet thou haste no priuilege to be in all thinges an absolute Lorde: For, amongst men there is no authoritie so supream, whiche hath not God to be iudge ouer them, and men to be beholders of what they do. In whiche respects, now that thou arte a Prince, thou haste a greater bonde to be

It is more
worthie to
deserue ho-
nour than
to possesse
it.

bee good, and lesse libertie to bee euill than when thy estate was priuate: so that the authoritie thou hast got to commaunde, leaues thee lesse libertie to offend, and no oportunitie at all to follow thy proper recreations. For, if thy regiment answere not the expectation of the people of Rome, and thy behauioure bee contrarie to the desires and opinion of thy olde mayster Plutarch, thou canst not but bee subiect to many daungers, and offer my aged bodie, into the handes of my aduersaries to suffer repence, since thys is a commune custome, that the faultes and abuses of the disciple are transferred and heaped vpon the heade of the instructoure and maister. And therefore hauing bene thy teacher, and thou my follower, like as y good that thou dost can not but bring to me some hono:; so also if thou dost euill, I can not but communicate in thy infamy. Whiche happened to Seneca, who bore imputation for the cruelties of Nero: and the philosopher Chilo: for the follies of his disciple Leander: who albeit weare personages of suche vertue, as they had the creditte to fashion and gouerne right mightie princes: yet, for that they flattered their greatnesse with libertie & fauour, when they shoulde haue distilled into their youth, doctrine, and rules of direction, they left to themselves perpetuall infamie, and to many commune weales perill of subuersien. And as my pen hath not spared to discribē Princes and ages past, so bee thou assured (O Emperour) that neyther thy greatnes nor my negligence shall be fauoured of suche as are to come: for, otherwys it wyl not come to passe, but suche as haue interestte in the faulte, shoulde be also inheritous of the punishment. Thou rememberest what I haue taught thee in thy youth, and with what counsels I haue instructed thy riper age neyther art thou ignozant, I know with what fraknesse I haue debated with the by letters, since thou wast a Prince, and familiarly communycated with thee in secrete: wherein I stode alwayes vpon these obseruations, not to make thee acquainted with any thing which shoulde not bee for the seruice of G D D, for the advancement of the common weale, and furthering to thy reputation. And therefore for any thing I haue written, spoken, or perswaded, I stonde not in seare to be punished of God after my death, nor to be reproched of men whilst I lyue,

account

No prince
but his be-
haviour is
published.

accounting it to belong to the necessities of thy age, & grauntie of my profession, to whisper nothing in thyne eare, which I mighte not haue published in the open Senate. And now, (afore I addressed this letter vnto the) examining myself, whether during the tyme I had the vnder my discipline, I had done or saide in thy presence any thing which might prouoke the to yll example, I finde that I neuer did any thing which became not well the ciuilitie of a good Romaine, nor spake word, which was not fully conuenient wyth the modestie of a correete philosopher, so that if it please the to make & rules and instructions of thy youth, the compasse to direct the course of thy high gouernment and reigne, thou shalt finde the neede of thy life and doings to draw directly to a renoume of perpetuall fame and felicitie: wherein I doe not so much put thee in remembrance to the ende thou shouldeste gratifie me, but because thy life beeing well instructed, there may folloow better seruice and successe to thy estate, examining it inough for my recompence to vnderstand that the world holdes thee a good man. I beseeche thee take this last counsell in good parte, that albeit thou arte raysed to the empire, it is not for that thou arte of the house of Rome, but because thou hast bene a follower of vertue, which willet h princes, not to measure things by common report of the people, but by iustice and equitie of conscience.

Princes
ought not
to measure
things by re
porte but by
the equitie
of conscience

The Emperour Traiane writeth to his teacher

Plutarehe, debating that albeit a good

man may be banished, yet he

is not for that disho-

noured.



Afore I had halfe reade thy letter, I had conceived it came from the, not so much for the experience I haue of thy forme of writing, as by the grauntie of the matter it containeth, the same being the occasion that I reade it often, learning therein to see the wyse, and heare thee speake, & I caused it

to

Golden Epistles.

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to be read at my table, to the ende thy affection might be known
and put in remembrance howe much I owe to thee. Where thou
canst not believe (as thou sayest) that I solicited the kingdome, nor
aspired to it by corrupt meanes, I will not deny but as a man I
haue desired it, forbearing notwithstanding to ryle to it by brokerage
or corruption, for that I neuer knewe any man purchase honour by
byrdes, to whome the meane of such honour was not the cause of
such notable infamie, as is truly verified in the example of y^e good
olde man Menander, who, for that he practised the Consulship by
money, was past into exile, and so (by the due iustice of the highest)
lost his hono^r, goods, and life. It was a doctrine to reade in the
Uniuersitie, that moze ought men to labour to deserue honour, than
to be bolde to procure it, esteeming that vnlawfull, which is gotten
by vnlawful meanes. He that is without credite, oughte to labour
to winne it : and who is in infamie, let him study to be made
woorthy of honour: but the man of vertue hath neuer want of nobili-
ty, and much lesse can his honour be taken from him : since honour
is ioyned to vertue as y^e byer is to the rose : and though all other
thinges be of fortune, yet true nobilitie dependes of vertue,
as the house vpon his foundation. Many men haue refused offi-
ces, and yet muche lesse that he liued in lesse loue and estima-
tion, seeing the disclayming of dignities brought to them moze ho-
nour than al the victories they won in the warres, for that the suc-
cesse of conquestes follow (for the most part) the iudgement of for-
tune, but the denyall of office and charge lyeth only in the wisdom
of man. I assure thee when the ensigne of the Empire was presen-
ted to me, I was no lesse ignorant of the chaunce, than out of hope
of the dignitie, knowing that it was solicited by others wyth no
meane practise and corruptions. But seeing it is the prouidence of
the greate God to make me his minister, being called with the co-
sent and will of all men, and that I haue assurance in thy aduice &
counsell, I doubt not but God will communicate with me in the
gouernment, and restrayne fortune for giuing me any such
suddaine mutation as may chaunge the courage and constancie
of minde : assuring thee, that I acknowledge me to haue bene thy
disciple, euen with the same ioy wherewith thou sayest thou hast
taught

That is vn-
lawfull
which is
gotten by
vnlawfull
meanes.

Golden Epistles.

Such as giue
counsell to
princes
should be
free from
passions.
What counsell
givers Princes
ought to
chooſe.

taught me, and nowe ſeeſt me Emperour . Wherein , ſei-
thou wilt not from henceforth but call me Lorde , I will neuer
ſpeake of thee by other name than Father. And albeit I haue been
ſought to, and counſelled of manye ſince my election to the kyng-
dome , yet amongeſt all , I reſerue my ſelfe to be familiar
onely wyth thee, conſidering that in ſuch as ſue to giue me coun-
ſell, is an intention to drawe my will to theirs, wherein I knowe
thou wilt not aduiſe me but for my profit and commoditie of my
honour. Oftentimes I haue hearde thee ſaye, that in ſuche as giue
counſell to Princes ſhoulde be libertie and freedom from all paſ-
ſions and affections : for that in the action of counſell giuing,
where the will is moſt inclined , there the ſpirit and witte haue
moſt ſtrength. That a Prince in all things doe his will, I doe not
allowe, and that he take counſell of euerie one, is leſſe ſeemelye:
therefore, as to the affaires of a kingdom can not but be a greate
neceſſitie of aduiſe, ſo lette the prince make this choiſe of his coun-
ſellers, rather to be counſelled by thoſe of whom he is loued, then
by ſuch as himſelfe loueth . For, in the affection of the counſel-
ler to his Prince is greate ſecuritie and care of the common bu-
ſineſſe , where from ſuche as be followers of the Prince , can
growe no great matter of prouidence for the publike ſafetie , as
being men all together dedicated to the complexion and hu-
mours of the Prince . Wherein hauing had long experience of
thy deepe inſighte in matters of policie , and no leſſe expectation
that thou wilt vſe no leſſe care to direct me now being a prince,
then thou tookeſt paines to inſtruct me when I followed thee as
thy diſciple : I will that from henceforth to thee belong the chiefe
charge to giue me counſell in my moſt weightie affaires , and to
aduertiſe me of the imperfections and faultes that from time to
time appeare in me. For, as Rome holdes me for the protectour of
theys common weale, ſo I reſerue thee to be the beholder and ex-
aminer of my life. And if at any time thou findeſt me ſroward, to
be warned by thee in things neceſſarie for my reſormation,
I praye thee conſtrue it not to anye diſpleaſure towarde thee :
ſince in ſuche caſe, my paſſion ſhal not be for the warnings thou
giueſt me, but for the ſhame that I haue erred . And as to haue
bene nourished in thy houſe, to haue hearde thy lectures, to haue
imi-

imitated thy doctrines, & to haue liued vnder thy discipline, haue bene (sure) principall meanes to preferre me to the Empire: So, it can not but be ascribed to great inhumanitie to thee, if thou forbeare to helpe me, to manage and guide that whiche thou hast procured me to winne and get, cōfirming it I assure thee, to my great felicitie, to haue familiaritie with suche one as thou, whose wisdomē makes thee woorthie to be a Iudge of my counsels, and in thy sayth I maye be bolde to repose the controlemente of my life.

Lastlye, where thou aduisedst me to continue suche one as I was befoze, with condition not to decline, I beleue thou drawest this warning from the example of Nero whose gouernement being wel ordered for the first fīue yeares of his reigne, he grew afterwards to increase more in wickednesse than in dignitie. But rather then thou shalt finde me succellour to the impudencies and vilenesse of Nero, I pray thee praye to G D D to giue me no sufferaunce to raigne in *Rome*: since that tyrants procure dignities to exercise crueltie, and good men aspire to kingdomes to the ende to maintaine vertue. And therefore to suche as were good afoze, and are corrupt by the place, there is more cause of pitie than malice: for if fortune raise the, it is not to honoz them, but to make them fall. And to wise men the miserie of vnfortunate men is an example, to warne others to keepe a meane in their happie estate.

By the miserie of vnfortunate men others are warned to take heede.

The Emperour Traiane writing to the Senate
of Rome, discloseth the trauels of

Princes in their gouernements.



It is not vnknownen to vs that death hath called from you your deare Lord and Emperour, and my late predecessour, whome if you lament as in the losse of a iust prince I haue no lesse reaso of sorrow for the wat of a father so graue and pitifull. When thy children lose a good father, and a whole commonaltie a iuste and vertuous Prince, there

Golden Epistles.

Princes to
common
weales are
the same
that God is
to sinners.

God hath
authoritie
to dispose al
things by
the same
power wher
with he
created the
of nothing.

Due iustice
for a wicked
man.

there can bee no sorrow more intollerable, or that worldly men can not suffer losses of more heauie importance: (since good princes are the same to common weales, that God is to sinners, who, though we forget to loue and obey him, yet he forbears not to protect and prouide for vs.) The death of a good man deserues to bee sorrowed of all, but the loss of a iust prince ought to be extreamely and bitterly lamented: for that when a private man dyeth, there is losse but of one, but when a good prince is taken away there dyeth with him the felicitie of a whole kingdome: so if God would suffer vs to sell the liues of good princes already deade, the price sure would be too base to buy them agayne wth fear. For, since euen with the most precious golde and silver, can not bee weighed downe the price and raunsome of a vertuous man. If treasure would haue redeemed the life of Hector, the Troyans would haue furnished it in greate abundance: or if money might estones haue breathed life into Hannibal, there would haue bene founde no wante in the Carthaginians. But God, hauing made all mortall things, hath authoritie to dispose them euen of the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing, reseruing onely to himselfe immortallitie. Howe reuerent is the vertue of good men, and with what prerogatiues they are indued, appeareth easilie in this, that men beare more honour to the sepulchres of the vertuous, than to the emboasted palaces of the wicked. The good and vertuous man, though he be farre absent and out of vse and knowledge, yet men loue him, serue him, and aunswere for him: where, to the wicked is giuen no credite in that he saith, and muche lesse are we thankfull to him in that he doth for vs. For, to the euill man is appointed this propertie of iustice, to be doubted most where he would fainest haue credite, and not to bee belieued though he speake the truth. Touching my election to the empire, as it was left by my predecessor, demaunded of the people, and approued by you, so I doubt not but my government will be so muche the more plausible and profitable to Rome, by howe muche in my adoption were fulfilled all things agreeable to God. And as it serues for little for men to chuse Princes, if they be not confirmed by God: so, there be certayne signes to discerne such as are called by God, from others chosen by men. For, that whiche man by todaine counsel aduanceth, God by due iustice brings

bringes downe: where those things whiche the mightie God planteth, albeit they stande open to all windes and receiue many aduersities, yet they neuer fall, yea, though they incline & bend, there is no power to remoue them. You know that albeit I was nephue to our predecessour, yet I neuer solicited him for the kingdome, & much lesse occupied my thoughts to hope for it, having learned of my master Plutarch, that hono^r ought rather to be deserved than purchased. And as I will not deny but that a kingdome is a swete prais, and that the present of so high & excellēt a dignitie was welcome to me with inwarde gladnesse: so also I can not but confesse that I finde greate difference betwene the trauailes of a kingdome, and the securitie of a priuate life: yea, after I had tasted of what bitter cares this swete pray is compounded, I was sozie my weakenesse was so soone enticed, though it be too late to repent. For, of suche qualitie is imperie and gouernement, that if there be great honour to haue it, there is no lesse paine and tranayle to weelde it. Oh, to holwe many perplexities standes hē subiecte, who bindes himselfe to gouerne others: For that if he be iust, they will call him cruel: if hē be pittifull, they will despise him: if hē be liberall, they will holde him prodigall: if hē be a husbände of that hē hath, they will say hē is couetous: if hē be peaceable, they will esteeme him a coward: if he be couragious they will impute it to be quarelling: if hē be graue, they will note him proude: if hē be affable, they will ascribe it to lightnesse and simplicitie: if hē be solitarie, they will iudge him an hypocrite: and if hē be merry, they will say hē is dissolute. So that men moste commonly will vse more respects towarde all others, than towarde him that gouerneth the whole. For, to the Prince they account the morcels that hē eateth, they measure his paces, they espie his wordes, they obserue what companie hē keepeth, they iudge his workes, they are iealous ouer his lookes and gestures: yea, they examine and murmur at his pastimes, and make coniecture euen of his secret thoughtes. Who then weigbeth with the trauailes that breede in principallitie, the iealousies that stande as espials ouer such as gouerne: will confesse (I doubt not) that as there is no state more sure than that that is deuided from empire and rule: so gouernement being none other than the forge of enuie, the beste cure and remedie is, to

Princes
subiect to
many per-
plexities.

Perplexities
of Princes.

for beare to be absolute, and live contented with an estate private:
for, if a man can not but with great paine gouerne a wife, whome
hee hath chosen: traine vp his children whome hee hath begotten:
and instruct his seruant whome hee hath hyred, hauing them all in
his house: far greater paine shal he finde to enterteine in one peace
and vnitie, a whole common weale diuided into straunge dispositi-
ons. Sure the life of Princes deserueth great compassion, for that in
fewe can they repose or truste, seing oftentimes they are most dete-
cted by those whome they most saue: they can not eate without
watching, sleepe without garde, speake without ialousie, nor goe
without espial: so that being lordes ouer al, yet they are prisoners
euen to their proper vassals: yea, if we consider the seruitude of prin-
ces, and the libertie of subiects, we shal find that in whom the king-
dome hath most action, euen againste him seruitude hath most po-
wer, so that, though Princes haue authoritie to giue libertie to o-
thers, yet their place will not suffer them to minister it to them sel-
ues. God hauing created vs free, we do so delight to haue our liber-
tie free, that how nere so euer a man touch vs, eyther in friendship,
kinred, or blood, yet we had rather hee were our vassall, than our
lord: for that, as libertie is as deere to vs as blood and life: so al ser-
uitude is miserable, according to the desire of Caesar, who, in respect
his souldiours were made free, withed himselfe despised and worth
nothing. We esteeme our selues so much, and followe our desires
with such partial affection, that as we shall neuer see any man who
of his proper will, will be made bonde, so, we haue not read of any,
that against his wil was made Lord. For, the heart without liber-
tie takes pleasure in nothing, as wel appereth in the controuersies
of men, whose warres we see are not so much for the quarrel of obe-
dience, as to establish their authoritie to commaunds. In eating, in
drinking, in speaking, in garments, in gestures, and in al other ac-
tions and affections men be different, sauing in the desire of libertie,
wherin they are al conforable. Al this I haue written vpon the
occasion of mine empire, which being so vniuersally offred, I haue
thankefully accepted, though many times I finde wearinesse in so
great a burthen. For, a large sea, and a great kingdome are two
things pleasant to behold, and yet most perillous to proue: notwith-
standing, since by the wil of God I am appointed your Lord, and
by

by your proper consentes you are made my bassals : I require to be obeyed as I orde in things that are iust, and pray you as fathers to aduertise me when I do things vnreasonable : assuring you that if you fulfil the office of good counsellours, you shall finde in me that ready conformance, that belongs to the action of the common weale: on whose behalf I recommend vnto you the prouidence of the common treasure, as well to consider by what meanes it is gotte, with what suretie it is kepte, as also to what vles it is transferred & employed. For the goods of the common weale are not committed to your confidence to the end to enioy them, but that you might gouern the.

And albeit the warres of Germanie, being like yet to be prolonged for that the king of Daia continueth in his revolte from the obedience of Rome, I shal be yet driuen to follow the occasion of the warres : yet in this absence, I can not be vnmindful of the affaires of the state, as holding it lesse euill for a Prince, to be negligent in the proceedings of warre, than carelesse of the businesse concerning the gouernement of the common weale. For, a good Prince ought to thinke, that hee is not chosen so much to follow the warres, as to gouerne ciuilly : not so much to kill his enemies abroade, as to supplant vices at home; not so much to follow foreign affaires, as to keep resort and residence amongst his subiects; not to take the goods of others, but to do iustice to euery one: not to pardon the rich in respect of his wealth, nor to deny iustice to the poore for his pouertie: not to giue rewards altogether for affection, nor to minister chastisement by passion only : and not to deny iustice to him that demaundes it, nor to shew mercy but where it is deserued : since, whylest a prince in the warres can not fight but for one and in his owne person, in the common weale his absence giueth libertie to many insolencies done to many innocentes. Sure, it is a iuste rewarde of vertue, that of Captaines men come to be Emperoures : but there is no conueniencie that Emperoures descende to be Captaines, for that in that realme is seldome stabilitie of peace and quiet, whose prince is too much inclined to warres and enterprises. By these I pray you beleue, that if the wars of Germanie had not begon whilest I was in these parts, I had not made my self a partie to them, hauing alway this principal purpose, to be reputed rather a ciuil gouernor than a soldier of armes. I recommend to you chiefly the honour

of God, and establishment of the Church : so that, that king can not liue in suertie, who prouides not to haue God honoied and the ministerie mainteined. Let princes feare God, entertaine iustice, reuerence the ministers of the Church, and defende the poore: so that they be perfecte men, and pleasing God, who for recompence, will not suffer them to be forgotten of their friends, nor vanquished of their enemies. I wish you also to communicate together in one friendship and fraternitie : so that, in common weales greater are the harmes that rise by ciuill factions of one neighbour against another, than by the furie of foireine and publique enemies. I wishe you to cutte off all occasions of quarrelles, to be cherishers of the poore, preseruers of the fatherlesse, and protectors of the widowes : so that to none is God wont to minister more sharpe iustice, than to suche as restraine compassion to the poore, and suffer the innocent to receiue oppression. And, because vertue consistes more in workes, than in wordes, I exhorde you to vse modestie in speech, to be patiente to suffer, and prouident in your souerne of liuing. For, it cannot but bring great fault and shame to a gouernor, to giue praises to the people of his common weale, and in himselfe beare iuste occasion of reprehension : and therefore, to suche as manage estates and gouernements, it appertaines to haue more confidence in their workes than in their wordes : so that the common people is more inclined to iudge of that which they see, than to beleue those things which they heare. In affaires concerning the Senate, I woulde not haue any of you noted of ambition, malice, fraude, nor enuie : so that to men of honour, truth, and vertue, it is vnseemly to contende more for the soueraintie and commaundement of a common weale, than for the aduancement and profite of it. The empire of the Greekes hath bene alwayes contrary to the gouernement of the Romanes, as wel in armes and lawes, as in opinions : so, the Greekes had a singular felicitie in eloquent speaking, and vnto vs hath belonged the propertie of well working. By this I exhort you being assembled in the Senate, that you bestowe not more time to dispute and argue of controuersies, than necessarily appertaines to the true search and decision of the same : since, if you wil not entangle your iudgements with passion and affections you shal (without long argument) be easily lead to reason and conclusion. In this respect,

respect, many wise men haue thought it moze expedient, that kings and emperours shoulde suffer them selues to be gouerned by men learned, than to be learned them selues: so bydding them thereby to leane to their proper opinions, of the whiche for the moste parte they ought to be suspicious. Let your Iudges, and such as sit in office to sollicite the affaires of the common weale, be wise men, skilfull in lawes, expert in customes, discrete in things they haue to iudge, and circumspecte in their conuersation and sourns of life. For, in instruction of lyfe and manners, moze good doth the Iudge with his good example, than with his seuerer punishment: and to the good gouernement of a common weale, moze conduccible and necessarie is the wise man, than hee that is too well learned. Therfore in causes of iustice, & iudgement, haue regarde to minister the Lawes in ciuill processes, and in matters criminall it is good to moderate their rigour: for that, in the creation of seuerer and cruell Lawes, the chief purpose was rather to keepe men in ferroure, than to haue the Lawes committed to extreme action: so that alsoe the publication of your sentence, you ought to consider the age of the offendoer, the time, the maner, the occasion, the confederacie, and the value of the offence, in all which circumstances may be helpes, though not to acquite the trespassse, yet to qualifie the rigour of the Law: in the administration & office wherof, we ought to deale in the same rate & measure of mercie towarde offendoers, which God vseth with sinners, on whome hee exerciseth compassion aboue their deserts, and punisheth them vnder the merite of their transgressions. And as in criminal offences Iudges ought to thinke that God is moze offended than men: so, if it please him to remit faultes done against his maiestie, it is a good example to warne vs, not to execute the Lawes extremely against those that offende others and not vs. Lastly, I wish you (in cases of quarrel & wrong) that if your enemies do you any iniurie, you will forbear present reuenge. For that to pardon in any for the offence of one, holdes of the office of Christianitie: but to chastise many for the faulte of one, appertaineth properly to tyrantes: yea, though in mans nature the despite of an iniurie increaseth the desire of reuenge: yet, there be wrongs, wherein often times men doe finde moze suretie to dissemble them, than to reuenge them.

Golden Epistles.

The Senate of Rome writeth to Traiane their Emperour, partly to aunswere to some particulars of his former letters: and withal expressing documents necessarie to the instruction of a Prince.



Right soueraigne and worthy Emperour, such was the compassion and regarde of thy late vncle & predecessour Nerus towards thee, that in the very article and extreme approach of death, he made no sorrow for that his children were dead, which might haue inherited his possessions: but gaue thanks to God for leauing thee to succede him in the Emppye. So that albeit to the good Emperour were successors other than thou, both more deare in friendship, more bounde in seruice, and better experienced in pollicie & warres: yet he boughsed to fixe his eye vpon thee only, as in whom he hadde moste opinion and confidence, that thou wouldest eftsones reuiue the vertues and valour of the good Augustus. and roote out the insolencies and tyrannies of Domitian. When thy vncle tooke possession of the Empire, he founde the treasures dispersed, the Senate in faction, the people in mutinie, iustice ill obserued, and the common weale in generall ruine: but thou shalt come to great plentie of riches, the Counsel voyde of dissention, the multitude ignoraunt in commotions, the Judges without corruption, and the whole state peaceable, reformed and flourishing: beseeching thee, with the maiestie of so large an Empire, to succede also thy vncle in custome and constitutions, seeing that new Princes vnder colour to innouate newe lawes, doe for the moste parte committe their common weales to perdition. Like as the fourtene Princes that haue managed the Empire nexte afore thee, were all naturally of Rome, and thou the firste straunger adopted to the kingdome: euen so we beseeche the immortall God, that as in thine vncle, our auncient Cæsars haue taken ende, so also with thee may be brought good fortune to Rome, wherein we hope so muche
the

the more, by how much thy vertues more than thy policie, made thee
 worthy of the Empire. For that where vertue is the meane to pro-
 cure honoꝛ, there God neuer failes to establish the place, and takes
 from fortune all power to minister aduersities to it. Where, by thy
 letter thou giu'st vs instructions what to doe we are bolde also to
 aduertise thee what thou oughtest to forsee. And seeing thou teachest
 vs how to obey thee, it is good equitie and iustice that we know the
 things wherein thou wilt commaunde vs: for that, (by the occasion
 of the warres) hauing bene long disacquainted with the maners of
 Rome and not knowing to what lawes & customes we are sworne:
 thou maist perhaps decree things to our damage and thine own dis-
 honoꝛ, wherein (according to thy wisdom) we hope thou wilt not
 holde it unreasonable to be aduertised: for that princes oftentimes
 are negligent in many things, not so much for that they haue no de-
 sire to forsee, as because there are none that dare warne them. And
 therefore we beseech thee turne not that to presumption whiche wee
 present to thee of iuste ductie and office, assuring thee that the affec-
 tions of subiectes are more drawen by a gracious industrie, than by
 compulsion or forces. We beseeche thee, that all those commaunde-
 ments which thou sendest from the campe, with all suche other or-
 ders as we establish here, maye be severely and firmly kept, since
 the benefit of lawes consistes not to erect and ordayne, but in the due
 and iuste execution of them. Thou must not forget to haue patience
 to suffer such as are importunate, and dissemble with offenders: for
 if it is a propertie duely annexed to a good Prince, to punish the
 iniuries of the common weale, and pardon the insolencies done a-
 gainst himselfe. And as it belongs to a good Prince, to haue more
 regarde to the benefit of his countrey, than to the delights of his per-
 son: so, where thou writest that thou wilt not see Rome til thou hast
 giuen ende to the warres of Germanie, we can not but holde it a
 determination of a noble and valiaunte Emperour: for that suche
 good Princes as thou art, ought not to take out places for their re-
 creation, but followe exercises to increase their reputation. Thou
 recommendest to vs the veneration of the temples and seruice of
 God: we beseeche thee let that be an office iust and equal to thee also
 since our seruice to God can be a sacrifice but of small importaunce,
 if with al thou makest it not perfect with the offer of the humilitie,

Where ver-
 tue doth
 raise to ho-
 nor, there
 God failes
 not to esta-
 blish the
 dignitie.

There is no
 benefite by
 laws if they
 be not exe-
 cuted.

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obedience, and consent of thy hearte. According to thy counsel, that we holde friendship and communitie one with another, we finde it a charge of verie harde action, if in thee be not also accomplished an equall and generall affection to vs all: so; that, by the parcialitie of princes embracing some more than the reste, are oftentimes raised factions and murmurs amongst the people. Touching the reliefe of the poore and protection of widowes, we can not fullye perfoyme our deuotion that way, vnlesse thou commaunde such as leuy thy tributes to forbear to molest them whē they gather thy rights: so; greater is the sinne to pill and oppresse the poore, than the merit to succour and ayde them. Thou warnest vs that wee be not tedious in the Senate, nor affectioned to our proper opinions: whiche being a counsell of great grauitie, is also accepted in dutie and good meaning, desiring thy wisdom to consider withall, that in busynesse of great difficultie, the more seriouse matters are debated, the more truly are they resolved, and their inconueniences auoyded. If (according to the aduertisement of thy letter) thou wilt haue thy Judges honest in life and iuste in their office, thou muste take heede that in suche as thou chooseth, there be no occasion or necessitie of reprehension. Touching thy aduice, that we restraine our chyl-dren to such education, that they bring no slander to the common weale: it behoues thee especiallie to let them be called from time to time to the necessitie and seruice of the warres: so; that, as there is nothing that brings so easie and swete a subiection to vice, as the season and plene te of peace: so; there is no better meane to purge a common weale of loytering and vnprofitable people, than to haue warres wth forrayne enemies. We wyll not repeate the other aduertisements, but: stadge to keepe them, eschamynge them rather by Lawes of a diuine spirite, than counsels of a mortall man.

OF

Of the great reuerence giuen in times past to auncient men, with certain priuileges appertayning to olde age.



Ycurgus, and almost all the other Lawes readers of the worlde, albeit in many thinges they were different, yet they hadde full conoord and agrément in these thre, To honour G O D, to owe compassion to the poore, and to beare a reuerence to old mē. It seemes that these customes haue had frō the beginning an assured consent and affinity with nature, soz that there hath bene no nation of such barbarous rudenesse, nor any people so intractable, whiche haue soz bidden the seruice of their Gods, restrayned succours to the poze, or withholden reuerence from olde age: soz that they be things so reasonable and iust, that according to naturall right and equitie, there is no necessitie of lawes to ordayne them, nor auctoritie of Kings to commaund them. Eschines the Philosopher in an oration he made to the Rhodians, commended the gouernement of the Islandmen in that their pollicie suffered but these seauen Lawes, To worship their gods, to be pitiful to the poore, to beare honour to the auncients, to obey their princes, to resist tyrauntes, to execute theeves and robbers, and to suffer no man to wander out of his proper countrie. And Aulus Gellius reading statutes to the auncient *Romaines*, will not haue so muche honour borne to the moste riche men and chiefe of the Senate, as to olde men reueyning alwayes one constaunt and settled grauitie. In these testimonies is good experience and prowe, that to the olde men images paste, were borne suche honourable respectes, that as Gods they were reuerenced, and holden in the place and reputation of Fathers, according to the Lawe whiche the *Romaines* toke of the *Lacedemonians*, that to auncient men only, & to no others should be committed the charge of Justice, & administration of the common weale. But speaking in the opinion of a Christian, albeit to al olde age is a due reuerence in respecte of theyr maiortie, yet.

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in such is it most worthily inuested, in whose grauitie is expres-
sed good example to others, and whose vertue brings honour to
their yeares, in whom it is a iuste dutie to be diuided from vaine
fancies and cares and reduce their deliberations to commenda-
ble actions: for that, as the most part of our time passeth away in
thinking from one day to another to giue reformation to our life,
so, let vs be warned, that the wings of old age being plumed with
the fethers of death, we shall finde it too late to learne to liue whe
we are at point to die: and therefore al men oughte to examine in
themselues howe many deare seasons they haue past, what perils
they haue escaped, how many friends they haue lost, & from what
perplexities they haue bene deliuered, accompting it not to theyr
owne merit that God hath taken them out of so many daungers,
but to the ende they should haue further time to amend their life.
A man to liue sound and without diseases, the regiments of phy-
sicke with out owne good gouernement, are much helping: but the
stroke of death whether it come early or late, that dependes moze
on the power and hande of God, than on the wil and disposition of
men. Therefore let all men be moderate in their exercise, and vse
temperance in their vniuersal actions, making moze estimation
of their wisdom than of their olde age: since other wayes, if they
forget not to reckon their yeres, others wil not so beare to kepe
accounts of their vices. Many learned men haue proued by many
reasons, that olde age is profitable, and that the life of aunciente
men is good: but God giue them better quiet and tranquillitie,
than that their opinions haue any societie with either experience
or reason. For, now a dayes where is the retraite of infirmities,
but in an aged bodie? Or in what consistes the miserie of mans
life, but in the passions of age? wherevnto is appointed no other
cure but sufferance in paine, & grief without hope: olde age be-
ing none other thing than a disease without remedie, and a sick-
nesse incurable. But conning nowe to exhibite some priuileges
and liberties which olde men enioy, I meane not to meddle with
the complexions and qualities of those, whose wisdom agrath
with their age, and their yeres comformable to their graue discre-
tion: and much lesse to giue libertie to my pen to contest againste
any of those graue, honoꝛable, and vertuous auncients, by whose
dire,

direction common weales haue bene gouerned, and in their wise-
dome yong men haue founde suretie of counsell : but to set downe
some customes of olde men that be wanderers, waspish, babblers,
scoffers, players, dissemblers, and suche as are lead by amorous
humors, together with what familiar manners their sorrowfull
olde age is accompanied, I hold it neither against reason nor ho-
nestie.

It is a custome to old men to haue a short sight, their eyes yel-
ding double iudgment, comprehending two things for one, & oftē-
tymes to haue clouds in their eyes when there is none in the skie
by meanes wherof for the most part they misknow their friende
and take him for an other. It is a custome to olde men to be thick
of hearing, by meanes wherof, such things as they heare & doe not
well vnderstand, they thinke is either spoken to þe prejudice of their
honor, or detriment of their goods. It is familiar with old men to
haue their haire fall without combing, wrinckles growing and
no soeue so wen, and their head suming without any fire made, for
remedie wherof when they would take þe bath, it is forbidden the
by reason of their weaknes. Old men haue this priuiledge to eate
breaue without crust for the ease of their teeth, to haue their meat
minsed for the helpe of digestion, to haue their drinke warmed for
the comfort of their stomack, & in case of infirmities in their legs,
they haue their oyles to soule them, their rollers to wrap them,
their hose at libertie and their buskins buckled : & if any grudge
at this brauerie, they haue to answer, y it is done moze for the
ease of the disease that troubleth the, than for any glorie they re-
pose in such attire. It is a custome with old men, to inquire after
the disposition of the weather, wherein they haue great sence and
iragement by the motion of their infirmities, whose humors fol-
lowing the reuolution of the mone, & change & distemper of þe ayre,
bring the poore old man to be half a phisition, & to haue a paineful
science in Astronomie. It is a custome with old men to complain
much of their trauels of the day, and to keepe reckning of þe houres
of the night, that their dinner is not resolued into digestion, and
their supper woulde not suffer them to sleepe : and yet, it is no so-
ner daye than they beginne to murmur that their breakefaste is
not readie. It is a priuiledge to olde men to searthe companye,
and

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and either in temple, tauerne, or shops they entertaine al þat come, inquiring of the newes of the world: & whatsoeuer they heare, be it true or false, they wil not only beleue it for true, but also ad to it somewhat of their owne. It is familiar to olde men to be suspicious, distrustfull, obstinate, intractable, and subiect to selfe opinion: by meanes whereof they lacke reason, and liue in error, and though they are not abused, yet they will be ielouse of their owne shadowe, yea such men haue rather want of any other thing, than of suspicion. It is a custome with olde men, once in a moneth to be lockt vp in their closet and count their treasure, diuiding theyr coyne, and searching the lockes of their chestes: suche men wyll not diminishe one denaire of that that is heaped vpp, but loue to liue poore: elie to the ende they may die rich. To some old men it is a custome to haue familiaritie with Philistions, and friendshippe wth Apothecaries: but some delight more to haunt tauerne where is vent of good wine, than in the conference of learned men by whom is ministred wholesome regiments of health. It belongs much to old men to be fickle in all things, but speciall ye to be inconstant against the time, commending much the ages past, and complayning more of the season present: which for the most parte they doe more of custome than by any reason, and rather by authority, than for necessitie. It is due to olde men to wrap and cherish themselves, to haue theyr chambers hanged, their fire ordinarie, their bed warmed, and yet for the most part, they spend þat nightes in coughing, and the dayes in complaintes, making their bedde a place to debate the actions of their youth past, and to feele the infirmities and weakenesse of their presente age: the memorie of which things makes them oftentimes so ill contented, that they are carelesse to prouide for death whiche they see euen afore theyr eyes. And it is one common proper tie with olde men, to be angry with suche as inquire of their age, and mooste familiar with those that will tell of the pleasures they haue past. So that, they would be honoured by reason of their age, and yet they are griued when they heare a reckoning of their yeares, and so olde men delight in authoritie, and yet wish their age might be concealed,

To a noble personage touching the difference
betweene the friendship of men, and
loue of God.

The greate Philosopher Eschines, in a famous inuective againste his mortall enemy Demosthenes vseth these wordes: It belongeth to thee Demosthenes, according to the estimation whych thou makest of thy wisdom, to be resolute in thy enterprises, true in promises, well aduised in thy counsels, and righteous in al that thou doest: al which fall out contrarie in thy behaviour and actions, for that oftentimes thou art scene to do things which thou oughtst not and no lesse often art hearde to speake that whiche thou thinkest not. These words spoken by the Philosopher, to the reproch of his enemy, deserue to be applied to all men, for that there are none that can worthily challenge the true merite and imputation of wise men, if they expresse not as great modestie in their speeche, as equitie in their workes. It is a iuste thing that euerie one take heede to that he doth, and be well aduised in what he sayeth, since amongst noble mindes moze easily is satisfied an actual wrong done against their persons, than an iniurious word vttered to the prejudice of their honour, alwayes esteeming that the blow of a sworde hurteth but the fleshe, but a worde suggested to infamie offendeth the reputation. This I say (Syr) vppon the occasion of your letter, charging me erstones to repeate my late discourse vttered in the presence of the Emperour vpon this theame, That it is verie hurteful to haue Christ to our enemy, and a thing no lesse dangerous to haue man our friende. If, in your opinion I spoke anye thing whiche was not well studied and considered vppon, you doe wrong to the grauitie of my profession, since it is my custome, neuer to pronounce wordes of such diuine & highe subiect, but euen with the same attention and deuotion wherewith I would confesse my selfe to God, accompting it withall too too great a fault, to publish any thing whiche might breede scruple in your Lordship, or murmur in so excellent an auditoie.

But

Golden Epistles.

It is daun-
gerous to
haue greate
friendes.

But nowe to our purpose, wherein I confirme elssoies, that if it be euill to haue the creator to our enemies, it can not be lesse daungerous to haue to our friende the creature. And if there be no necessitie to employe the phisition and our friende but in times daungerous and doubtful, it can not be to men but a most assured counsell rather to eschue perils, than to intreate friendes: since friendes being of the worlde, their friendship hath also his corruption of the worlde, in whom is more confusion than continuance of things. I do not saye it is euill to haue friendes, but that it is daungerous and painefull: for that the mightier thy friende is of estate, by so muche is thy daunger the greater to proue him, and thy care no lesse to obserue and keepe him, seeing speciall ye great friendship is not knowne but in extreme necessitie. Manye and many are there now a dayes who would abstain from many heynous and hurtfull faultes, if they had not confidence in the fauour and rescue of their friendes, which being a braunche of impunitie, can not but bring peril to a common weale, where the due course and sinceritie of iustice is stopped by the corruption of particular fauour. This is one manner of election of friendes amongst men, that meeting by chaunce, or commoning together, or eating at one Table, they suppose from the instant a perpetuall friendship to be established betwene them, which in good certaintie and truth can not be so, for that in time of necessitie and trespall there is no more profe or effect of suche friendes, than betwene the crowe and the kite, of whom when it happeneth to the one to be bare of fethers, the other aunswereth that to him is no more than sufficeth him to flye. What whiche one friende doth for another in these times, is, eyther to excuse or conceale himselfe when there is neede of him, being more readie to lende him his conscience, than his money, that is eyther to goe with him to the reuenge of an enemye, or to perforce some exployte of vice, or at leaste to serue his turne with some false testimonie. Whiche sort of friends, as they are moste common least rare, so let all men esteeme it no smal felicitie to be diuided from them, seeing they are more prodigal of their conscience than liberal of their goods, Who weigheth with the number of friendes that are professed to hym, how many haue ministred the true office and qualitie of friendes

to giue succours to his necessities, for one that he hath found faith-
ful, I doubt not but he shall be able to disclose an hundred dissem-
blers: In which respects, I saide not without great reason, that it
was greates peril to a man not to be consociate with a friende, ho-
nest, firme, and vertuous, since, for no greater cause than the ac-
tion of a common reuerence and civility, they are readie to require
our goods to loane, commaunde the vse and seruice of our house,
and not sticks to bring our conscience in doubt: (occasions that
many times moue men to disclaime neighbourhodes and friend-
ships which they hadde begone in great good will and deuotion.)
But right blessed and holy is the friendship of Iesus Christ, wher-
in can be no scruple nor daunger. For that, in recompence of the
affection he beares vs, he neither demaundes our goods, nor trou-
bleth our conscience: his friendship is alwayes assured, for that it
is well established: it is certaine, since he neuer forgets vs: it is
not fayned, since it correctes our conscience: it is iuste, for that it
suffereth nothing vnreasonable: it is righteous, since in it he doth
communicate to vs his grace: and it is most riche, and plentiful,
as by whose meanes he giues vs his glorie. So that he only may
and ought to be called a friend holy, a friende iuste, saythful, profit-
table, and perpetual, for that the friendes that he takes, he lookes
not if they be rich, and muche lesse esteemes it to dishonour if they
be poore, he choseth for his friende whom he liketh, and after hee
hath once called him, he neuer forbeareth to loue and like hym:
he looketh not whether he be mightie or impotente, faire or defor-
med, or whether his condition be free or bonde: No, he makes not
so great reckoning of the seruices we doe him, as of the loue whi-
che we beare to him: *In charitate perpetua dilexi te*: The loue (saith
Iesus Christe by his Prophete) wherewith Christe loueth vs,
is not fained nor transitorie, but retaineth alwayes one
perpetuall and settled stabilitie: as appeareth mosse truely in
this, that by the meane of his grace we are made agreeable to
him afore we are able to doe anye thing to deserue to be his
friends. Such is the perpetuall perfection of his charitie, that the
loue that hee beares vs being his owne, the profite that comes
of it pertaynes to vs, pretending no other thing in the loue
which

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whiche he beares to all creatures, than to make siene his
 soueraigne bountie, employed on our behalves in moste high and
 wortheie charitie: the same being well expessed in the day of his
 passion, when neither the toiments of his bodie, nor the wicked-
 nesse of his people, coulde restraine the course of his great loue,
 wherewith he prayed for such as crucified him, and pardoned those
 that offended him: yea, he prayed not onely for his Apostles and
 disciples, but also for all the faithfull that belueued in him and lo-
 ued his father, with whō as he was one self thing in diuinitie, so
 he prayed to his father, that all suche as belueued, might be in him
 one bodie mystical through charitie. Great was the loue of Iesus
 Chyist in the wordes of his petition to his father, seeing that albe-
 it we were not then bozne, no nor our sarre auntient fathers: yet
 he besought his father in great seruencie for the estate of al his
 Church, euen no lesse thā for those that did cōmunicate with hym
 in the supper. So that as he dyed for al, so he prayed for all. By
 whiche we haue good reason to belueue, that seeing he remembred
 vs afoze we came into the woꝛlde, he will also kēpe care ouer
 such as are employed in his seruice. If Chyist hadde not loued vs
 with that charitie, and prayed for vs in such seruencie of zeale,
 what had become of vs: sure, if there be in the Church of God at
 this present any obedience or patience, charitie, humilitie, or any
 abstinence or continencie, it oughte all to be attributed to that
 loue which Chyist expessed in the prayer that he commended to
 his father for vs, redēming with his bloud our dissauor, and with
 his prayer he restored vs eftsones to an estate of grace and recon-
 cilement. To loue those that are present, and such as are absente,
 to beare affection to the quicke, and remember such as are deade,
 happeneth often and is naturall, but to loue suche as are to come
 and not yet bozne, is a zeale that neuer was hearde of but in the
 person of our redēmer, who praieth for such as liue wickedly, and
 loueth god men, althoughe they are not yet bozne. In woꝛldlye
 things, so streight is the copulation and vnitie betwene life and
 death, loue and hate, him that doth affect and the thing affected,
 that all takes ende togither in one houre: but to the friendshippe
 that Iesus Chyiste beareth vs, belongs an other qualitie, for that
 his loue toke beginning afoze the foundation of the woꝛlde, and
 will

will not end, no not at the day of iudgement.

In this Letter is debated the difference betweene
a seruauant and a friend.



Finding in your lasse Letter moze matter
woorthie of rebuke, than meete to be answere-
red, I am bolde to giue you this counsell,
that in causes of importaunce, the penne is
not to be vsed afore the matter be well deba-
ted, least others take occasiō to iudge of your
doings, and your selfe be denied of that you
demaunde. This is also to be obserued, in
speaking to anye personage of estate, wyth whome we oughte
not to communicate but wyth feare, reuerence, and mode-
stie.

By your letter you wishe me to be your maister, and withal
woulde chouse me to be your friende: two estates no lesse differente
in qualitie, thā incompatiable in one persō, & most vnlike in office,
so; that a friend is chosen by wil, and a maister is taken by necessi-
tie: a friend will consider, but a maister must be serued: a friend gi-
ues of liberalitie, but a Lorde demaundes by authozitie: a maister
hath libertie to be angrie, but it belongs to a friend to suffer: and a
friend pardoneth, but a maister punisheth. So that the comparison
being so different, it can not be possible that being your maister, I
shoulde beare vnto you the due respectes of a friende: since, if I be
your maister, you are bounde to serue me, feare me, follow me, and
obey me: offices preiudicial to the prerogatiues of a friend, & against
the lawes of that libertie and frē soueraigntie whiche the heart of
man desireth.

To require me with suche rashenesse to be your friende, is (sure)
to demaunde of me the moste precious iewel I haue in the worlde:
so; to be your friende, is to binde me to loue you all my life, diui-
ding my hearte into yours, and making you euen an other moytie
with my selfe, true friendshippe being none other thing than an
vnfayned consente of wyll and affections, and a transportation of
two heartes into one bodye: and therefore two friendes, if they

B.

will

Golden Epistles.

We owe to
our friends
all that wee
haue, onely
wee ought
to haue but
one friend.

The friend
whome wee
chuse ought
to be wise
& wealthy.

Will lone and liue in the true obseruations of friendshippe, oughte to speake but with one tongue, and lone with one heart, yea they ought to communicate together in one substance and rate of life, and not grudge to suffer in common one peculiar and singular death. Amongst friendes, what is suffered of the one, ought not to be intollerable to the other, and albeit their thoughtes be proper to them selues, yet they persons, their goods and fortunes, ought alwayes to be common. One friende ought not to saye to another, I will not, or I can not: since, it is a principall priuiledge in friendship, to finde nothing impossible. Therefore, who ioynes in friendshippe with an other, bindes him selfe not to denye the thing that his friende demaundes, nor to vse excuse in anye thyng that his friende requires him to doe: since in this consistes the full office of friendship to owe to our friendes euen our selues and all that we haue. By the counsell of Seneca, the wise and discrete manne oughte to admitte but one friende, foresceing withall (as neare as he can) to haue no enemye at all: For, sayeth he, if there be daunger in enemies, there can be no suretie in the multitude of friendes, since, in respect of their number, they breede difference of consen'e and wil with varietie of conditions, & where is no conformitie of maners, there can be no perfection in friendshippe. So straight is the rule of friendship, that of many that proesse liberall affection, there are few that performe it, being an office particular to the children of vanitie, to haue readie tongs to promise and slowe handes to performe. True friendes are bounde to feele the aduersities of their friendes with no lesse affection than if they had proper interest in them: yea, it belongs to them to minister remedie to their necessities, and giue comfort to their miseries, esteeming it to appertaine to their duetie to communicate in ali the fortunes of their friendes: the same agreeing with the resolution of Eschines the Philosopher, who being asked what was the greatest perplexitie of this life, answered, that to lose things whiche we haue got with paine, and to be diuided from that whiche we lone, are the greatest afflictions that can frauaile an humaine minde. The friend whom we chuse, ought aboue all other things to be discrete, to the ende he maye counsell vs, and of abilitie and wealth, the better to administer to our necessities.

ties and lacks : for otherwayes , if he beare no aduise and iudgement, we shall want counsel to gouerne our prosperitie , and if he be poore, what meane is there to ioyne succours to our wantes? By which imperfection our prosperitie standes in hazarde for want to be warned, and in aduersitie we are subiect to dispaire or murmur by the intollerable burden of our necessities , being no lesse hurtfull to be raysed to wealth and dignitie without a friende to instruct vs to gouerne it, than to bee extreme poore, and haue no meane to relieue vs. Therfore amongst men there is nothing more necessarie, than to be environed with friendes , who in their presence may assist them with good counsell, and in their absence y olde common faith and loyaltie. There be two things that proue the malice of the world to be infinite, and therewithall warne all men to seeke securitie in a wise and wel able frende. The first is, that to him that is ouerthrowen there are very few that will lende their hand to help him by agayne : and to such as stand in wealth and fanour, euerie one studieth to cast stumbling blockes to make the fall. In which respect, that man is posselt of no small treasure, who hath admitted societie with a wise and well aduised frend, whose qualitis ought to be such as to comfort his friend with his eye, to counsell him with his spache, to succour him with his goods, to protect him with his power, and not onely to doe his best to keepe him from falling, but if he bee downe, to lend him his liberall hand to remount him. To the qualitie of our frend it appertaynes to bee discrete and secret, leasse his lightnes make him intollerable to vs, and being lauish, he can not but be troublesome to our affayres : and therefore as the bosome of our frend ought to bee a place of retract for all our counsells opinions, actions, and enterprises, so, in the election of him, if we firste seeke not suertie of discretion and secrecie, let vs looke to lack that we would, and suffer that we mosse feare, since true friendshippe to young men is a notable sobrietie, to olde men an infallible comfort, to the poore sufficient riches, and to the rich assured honour.

Let no man disclose the secrets of his harte, but to such as he loneth with all his heart : since it is one chiefe bzaunch of the office of a good frend to keepe that he heareth, and conceale what he seeth : and therewithall a rule mosse infallible that who speaks without

Two things
that proue
the malice
of the
world infi-
nite.

A frend
must be dis-
cret & secret

Golden Epistles.

discretion shall be answered with shame and confusion. A true friend ought neuer to flatter his friends, nor ioyne reproche to any pleasure he hath done for him, taking it for his recompence that he hath done pleasure to him to whom he is bounde by the merite and law of true friendship. For, in case of daunger and necessitie, there ought betwene friends to be no delaye of succours, no, no remedie oughte to be required where all things are due by iustice, nothing ought to be holden particular where all things deserue to be in common, nor no importunitie intollerable, where ought to be necessity of request. It is not proper to all men to professe the qualitie of a friend: for if they haue power, they may wat dispositio: if they haue counsel, they may haue weakenesse of action: if they haue mindes to lone, yet they may be subiect to error of inconstancie: so that in case of friendship men can haue no such full perfection, but that in some respect they suffer infirmitie either by person or qualitie. And so if you weigh the office of a friend with the inconueniences annexed, and consider the state of a Lord with the seruices appertayning, I hope you will neither retaine me for a mayster, nor chouse me for a friende, since for the one I am vnable, and to the other vnapt.

A letter to a noble personage, wherein is debated why God afflicteth good men.



Albeit I haue had small meane hither vnto, to declare my good affection to you wardes, and lesse expectation of greate things in so poore a state as mine: yet hath there not wasted god wil to wish well with the best, and so wishing, as with effect I might expresse it ande leaue you satisfied of my good meaning, nelther to merite the more nor to aduance the sooner, but only for the due respects I owe to your greatnes and vertues, by whose aide I confesse I haue aspired to the success

celle and ende of all my desires. And where my profession keepes me so restrained, that to your many benefits I can giue no equal recompence, I am glad that by the request of your letters is ministred occasion to declare with what deuotion I wish to do you seruice: praying you to esteeme me, not as I am, but as I desire to be on your behalfe.

You demaunde by your letter why God suffereth so manye aduersities to afflict good men? Wherevnto I aunswere, that to the man of vertue nothing can happen ill, since according to the opinion of Philosophers, contraries can hold no consent nor vnite together: for, aduersities, albeit they haue custome to bere and trouble men, yet, they haue no power to chaunge the constancie and courage of a valiaunte and resolute minde, who in all reuolutions retaines one firme and inuincible vertue: euen as a tree which being well rooted although he be shaken with many violent windes, yet in theyr furie is no power to supplant him. When, through exercise of aduersities become humble, wise, and perfecte, and the iuste man is better reformed by the pwoe of afflictions, than by anye other meane. For, knowing them to be messengers and warnings of God, he debates not the griefs he feeleth, but calleth his conscience to reckoning, he glozifyeth himselfe in tribulation, knowing that tribulations bying patience, patience breeds experience, experience rayseth hope, and hope can not be confounded, so that the loue of God is dispersed into our heartes by the holye spirite that hath bene giuen to vs: hee suffereth his sorowes, but in the ende he surmountes them, and is not overcome by their violence, shewing then by s owne greatnesse, and with what vertues he is inuironed, when hee proueth what force his patience is of: he taketh all things for exercise of his vertue, since vertue without aduersitie withereth and loseth his force. A noble minde oughte not to feare harde and doubtfull things, nor complaine of anye perplexitie he endureth: for, hauing true magnanimitie, he ought to take all things in good part, and holde no fortune grieuous. Let him not debate what he suffereth, but determine to endure to the ende. Since God neuer proueth his people aboue their power, nor vseth to visite their frailtie other wayes than with a shaking rod, which rather thzeatneth than stryketh: yea it is one custome in Gods affliction to correct those chyl-

Benefits coming by tribulation.

True magnanimitie beareth all fortunes.

Golden Epistles.

No man is
miserable
but he that
esteemes him
self so.

Then whome he receiueth and loueth, to the end they may attayne to a true strength, faith and perfection, not suffering extremitie of his iustice to tempt them to murmur or dispayre, but mildly to prepare them, hauing appoynted to the godly no other passage to heaue but through the forme and fire of afflictions. Creatures that be fatte and heaue for want of exercise, become vnapt and idle, they are not tryed by labour onely, but withall through custome of ease and rest and by the heaue wright of their owne bodies : euen so, that felicitie that hath suffered no communitie with misfortunes, can haue no great continuance : but when it hath kept long warres with his incommodities, and by suffering iniurie is made hard, then is he in his perfection, and armed to resist al harmes, God suffering his people sometimes to incounter very rude and hard aduentures, the better to prepare them to a true iudgment and examination of themselves. We haue no greate neede to exercise mercie to a good man, for that though in apparance his estate seeme needis, yet his vertue makes him no way miserable. So, no man is unhappy but he that esteemes himselfe so by the base reputation of his courage. Demetrius was of opinion, that ther was no man unhappy but he to whom aduersitie neuer happened. And as vertue and wisdom are by oftentimes in those persons, whom eyther malice pursueth, enuie oppresseth, or fortune contemneth: so, for the most part, God suffereth aduersities to exercise their force againste such as are most strong, not to tempt them aboue their power, but through exercise to make them better established. Fortune proued the force of fire in Scæuola the violence of pouertie in Fabritius, the perplexities of banishment in Rutilius, torments in Regulus, poyson in Socrates ingratitude in Scipio persecution in Cæsar, and death in Cato. There is nothing that sooner makes a man great and mightie, than the tryal of a peruerse fortune, nor any thing breeds a more stabilitie of faith and patience, than the exercise of aduersities, as was well expressed in the wonderful constancie of Scæuola, whome we may not call unhappy, for that he burnt his hand in the fire of his enemies : nor repute Fabritius wretched, for that whylest he was absent from the gouernement of the common weale, he laboured his grounds with his owne handes : and muche lesse may we referre to the conquest of

of fortune the vertue of Regulus, who being ledde to the gybbot, was made there a monument of sayth, and an example of patience. Let vs not esteeme those men wretched who suffer so great things, for that by the passion of them they are made happie, yea they are the preparatyues to true felicitie, and the comfortable guides that leade menne to the perpetuall ioyes and tranquillities of heauen.

The author, vnder termes to reprove hys friend that had charged him to haue taken out of his chamber a pomander, speaketh iustly against such persons as delight to be perfumed.

In a singular combat betwene two Roman knights in the time and presence of Quintus Fabius, it happened that the victor holding in his mercie and vnder his fete him that was vanquished: thou shalt (sayth he) deny in this presence that thou hast sayd, and acknowledge thy report to be false and wicked, or otherwise this sword shall minister reuenge to the vntruthes which thy lying tongue hath pronounced. Oh, (sayth the other) that thou knewest as well how to vse the victorie, as thy fortune hath suffred thee to winne it, or that there weare in thee as good desert or merit of knight hood, as thou art my mortall enemye, then wouldest thou not be more desirous of my life, than to preserve thyne honour: suffice thee that thy counsell shall not tempt me to the prejudice of mine innocencie, for if my strengthe faile to fight further, thou shalt finde in me no want of harte to die. By the discourse of this auncient example, I am bolde to make insinuation into the wrong you haue offered me, making me guiltye of the Pomander whiche you lacke, whiche you haue not onely layde to my charge in expresse termes betwene you and mee, but also you haue of late accused mee by a publique letter compounded

of

of the weapons of your bzaire, moze full of choller than furnished with discretion; which giues me occasion to saye with the Romaine Knight, that forgetting the regarde of a friende, you are fallen into the malice of an enemye, seeing you esteeme moze your pomander than mine honour. I am not determind to make accompte of the iniurie, and much lesse to aunswere your letter in passion, bearyng moze regarde to the profession I followe, than to the house I am come of, since it is most sure that after my death there wil be no accompt demaunded, whether I haue vsed my selfe as a knight, but rather if I haue liued as a Christian. And therefore the weapons wherewith I am bounde to fight, are patience, hope abstinence, charitie, and humilitie, armes alwayes sufficient to defend my person, and without the which I would not liue. But albeit soz many good respectes, I sozbeare to ioyne reuenge to this iniurie, yet it is not without reason and libertie that I say my fancie. The things whiche the men of this world do by passion onely, and without aduise, procede indifferently of want of wisdom and superfluous hope or ouerwoening, which in men of respect oughte to be eschued, soz that they be two humours so fadious in mans bodie, that the one drawes him to do nothing but what anger prouokes him vnto, and y other is hatefull to all reason and counsell. And if soz euerie skozme of soz tune, we become weake and complaine, it can not followe but in time we shall imbrace despaire, and hasten the vntimelie destinie of our life: whiche seldome happeneth to a man resolute and wise, with whome patience and reason haue moze custome than choler and passion. It is without fruit to speake fruiteful things to a man posselt with passion, soz that he hath neither sence to taste them, noz wisdom to feele them: yea, it is in vaine to communicate wyth him that is obstinate, furious, or incredulous: soz that when wee thinke him moste apte to be perswaded, it is then he is furthest off from counsel and in labouring to appease him oftentimes we giue increase to hys anger: specially if we reduce to his memorie things that were the cause of his paine. By these (Syz) you haue to gather, that to men of vertue, honestie and estate, (even such as you ought to be) it appertaines to take heede that they doe nothing to make them hatefull: soz that one fault onely sufficeth to make infamous a whole race, dishonouring as well those that are passe, as such

such as are present, leauing withal an infection of bloud to suche as are to come. In Calsianus it is mentioned that certaine Pagans, vsing outrage and iniurie to a religious man of honest life, asked him by disdain, what fruite or profite he had by his Christ? As not this (answered he) a singular fruit, not to be moued with the bitter wordes which you pronounce againste me, and so easlye to pardon the heauie wrongs you haue done to me? An answer, sure, worthe to be written in y hartes of men, since therby we are instructed how great is the vertue of patifce, and of what necessitie and profite to the life of man. What merite or estimation can be due to the impaciente man? what wealth hath hee that hath not the riches of patience? and howe doeth that man liue, that liueth without patience? The conuersation and life of man hath oftentimes neede of all the mozell vertues, but the vertue of patience aboue all others and at all houres and momentes is most necessarie: for that so many be the infelicities which surprise and trauel our humaine life, that if we make not as good custome to beare and suffer them, as we do to eate and drinke, wee liue in vaine, and shall assuredly finde trouble in steade of true tranquillitie: all whiche I applye to my selfe, and therewithal do let you knowe, that if it were not familiar with me to suffer and dissemble with such as you are, I had ere this, in publike sorte defyed your malice, and ministred reuenge to the iniurie you haue offered me. The determination of enterprises of warre belongs to the Prince, the affayres of the common weale are referred to the lawes, and all causes of contouersie are managed by iustice: but quarrels that impeache honour are tryed by the sword, being albeit no lesse iuste to chastice the corrupt testimonies against our name and reputation, than to weape and vse contrition for our proper sinnes: yet in regarde I am a Christian and no Pagane, and that I professe religion and am a gentleman, I holde it more tollerable to forget this wrong than to reuenge it, allowing the opinion of Alexander the greace, That to him that is iniured is more neede of vertue and courage to pardon his enemye, than to kil him. If you had charged me to haue take away any trifle tending to recreation or pastime, I would not haue denyed it, for that I know how farre in al things stretcheth the

Aboue al
other moral
vertues, pa-
tience is
most ne-
cessarie.

Golden Epistles.

The good
woman will
rather haue
hir vertues
shine than
hir garments
smell of
muske.

office of friends : but to say that I was so impudent to take your
Commander, or so vaine to weare it, you doe great wrong, for that
the one had bene against my conscience, and in the other had bene
offence to my modestie and shame: and therefore I saye, that if to
weare swete smells be no great sinne, at leaste it can not but in-
cline to voluptuousnesse, and partake with vanitie: Such a valis-
ant and yong knight as you are, ought more to raise his merite
and renoune by actions of Chencalrie in foraine warres, than
wearing muske in the seames of his garment at home. To wo-
men, reteyning by nature many ordinarie infirmities whyche
without the helpe of swete smells would oftentimes appeare
loathsome, it is more tollerable to be perfumed thā men: and yet
the good woman will rather labour to haue hir vertues to shine,
then hir garments to smell of muske: Yea, they are bounde ra-
ther to liue well than to smell swete. A Commander howe well so
euer it be tempered, and howe swete so euer it smells, yet can it
caste his fauour no further than the length of a streete: where a
good renoune wil ring ouer a whole kingdome, and the fume of a
wicked life will smoake ouer a whole worlde: So that whether
she be married, or widowe, whether she be a mayde or a wife. let
hir alwayes liue in feare of slander, and thinke that the same
and report of honour is the sweetest incense, to make hir accepta-
ble to all men, being a thing most foule and loathsome that hyr
garmentes shoulde be perfumed with swete odores, and hir life
putrified with euill conditions. I neuer read that anye woman
hath remayned vnmarrried for lacke of being well perfumed, but
many and many doe I see refused for want of vertue: for that the
man inquiring of the conditions of his wife, will not so muche
care whether she smell swete, as examine if she be good of life.
But let vs also speake of men, to whom generally the Philoso-
phers haue forbidden to weare perfumes or smells: by which oc-
casion Rome remained almoste three hundred yeares without ey-
ther spice to eate, or perfumes to smell: but after the warres be-
gan to discontinue, vices so got not to reenter into custome. By
whiche we maye inferre, that if there were no ydle men in the
worlde, there would be no such reckoning made of vanities and
vices. Cicero saith that these five vices, To erect tumbers, to weare
gold

gold rings, to vse spice in meates, to allay wine with water, and to beare sweete smells, the men of *Asia* sente as presentes to the *Romaines*, in reuenge of the cities and bloude that they had taken from them: By whiche I gather, that greater was the damage whiche *Rome* receined by *Asia* than *Asia* by *Rome*: for that the landes and *Provinces* whiche the *Romaines* conquered of the *Asians* were estones reconquered and restored, but the vices of them of *Asia* remayned as a perpetuall inheritaunce amongst the posterities of the *Romaines*. He that followeth the warres to fighte, and he that laboureth the earth to liue by it, hath more care to succede his businesse than to smell to swete odours: yea, it is familiar to baine men, to seeke to smell swete, and forget to liue well. In *Rome* it was forbidden that neither mayde nor wife shoulde drinke wine, nor man buy muske, amber, or other perfuming smells: and it was as ordinarie with the magistrats to chastise men that bare perfumes, as to punishe women that were founde drunkardes: the same being verified by the vertuous Emperour *Vespasian*, who hauing the penne in hys hande readie to signe a dispatche whiche hee hadde giuen a *Romane* knighte, and feeling him smell of perfume, he did not onely reuoke his graunte, but with manie threates banished him forth with his presence. The *Romaines* persecuting *Plutus* (a conspiratour with the *Triumuir*) founde him hidde in a Seller, by no other espiall or intelligence, than by a swete smell whiche hee hadde scattered as he went. *Hannibal* a valiaunt and happie captaine in his youth, suffered his old age to be seduced by the dames of *Capua*, and swete oymntes of *Asia*, who so effeminated the forces of his minde and bodie, that he did neuer afterwarde any thing worthie of report. The *Romaines* being in debate to chosse a captaine to sende into the warres of *Pannonia*, referred the resolution to *Cato Censorius*, who of two that stode in that adoyntion, refused one of them being his neare kinsman, for that, saith he, I neuer knew him to retorne wounded from warres, but I haue alwayes seene him goe perfumed in the streates. The greate *Numantia* in *Spaine* could neuer be wonne (notwithstanding foure yeares siege of the *Romans*) till *Scipio* purged his campe of lysterers, perfumers and whores.

Lycurgus

Golden Epistles.

Lycurgus a notable law reader amongst the Lacedæmonians, erected an institution vpon grieuous paines, that no man should buy or sell any odoriferous or swete oyntments, vnesse it were to offer in the temples or to make medicines for the sick. By these examples may appeare, howe intollerable perfumes haue bene to well ordered countries, and how hurtfull to many particular personages: it is a vice that slaundereth the magistrat, offendes the multitud, breeds disease in the braine, and brings decay to the purse. For, to buy a payre of gloues of ten crownes is more for curiosity, than necessity: Yea, there be many bayne and light men that will not sticke to bestowe a dozen crownes vpon a payre of swete gloues for their Ladie, that haue not the heart to bestowe a more gowne vpon a student, nor in smaller things to minister to the necessities of their neare parents: suche men spend their portions more by opinion than in reason: and against all such men is pronounced the threat of the Prophet. The time will come (sayth he) that the perfumed men shall suffer greate paines, and in place of precious oyntments, they shall fele most horrible stinckes: Yea, such men are abhominable afore God, infamous to a common weale, and their quality dangerous to their conscience, and chargeable to their purses. In whiche respectes, let all Gentlemen practise more to liue vertuously, than to studie to be perfumed, since vnder heauen there is nothing that carryeth a sweeter smell than a good renoune, nor any thing that saoureth more horriblye than the fume and incense of a wicked life. To be a good Christian, is a swete oyntment: to haue a cleare conscience, smelles better than Civit: and to be innocent in life, and vertuous in example, is of farre greater merit and dignitie than all the perfumed pomanders we can weare.

A let-

A Letter to a particular friende, rebulking all such
as offer outrage or iniurie to any that are
newly conuerted to the faith of
Christ, calling them Infidels
or Miscreants, or by a-
ny other name of
reproche.

S before the children of Israel issued out
of Aegypt, they had a king, and no lawe: but
long time after their departure, they liued
vnder lawes, and were subiect to no kings:
only their common weales were admini-
stered by iudges, and their soules instructed
by sacrificatours, of whom the laste, sauing
one, was Hehe, a man verie zelous to hys
countrie, but moste negligente in the institution of his house and
posteritie: For, his children wer so giuen ouer to disorders, so sub-
iect to their particular wilis, and so farre estraunged from vertue,
that the scripture in the first booke of the kyngs, detecteth them in
this sort, *Peccatum puerorum erat grande nimis coram Domino, quia*
detrabant homines a sacrificio. The finnes of the sonnes of Helie
were too great in the sight of the Lorde: for, not contente to bee
wicked thein selues, they laboured to drawe others from well do-
ing. Of which sinne they were most of all conuined, as perswa-
ding all others to doe no sacrifice: by meane whereof, and so: pu-
nishment of their faultes, the olde man perished sodainelye, hys
children were slaine, and their wiues dyed of child: so that the pu-
nishmente of the finnes of yll doying, and the crime of draweing
others from doing wel, fell not only vpon those that did it, but al-
so vpon such as consented therevnto. I haue drawen this aunti-
ent hystorie into these particulars, not so much to reproch you, as
to wish you wel to weigh and note it: but chiefly to introduce oc-
casion to aunswere certaine late speeches of yours, which ought to
haue bene as farre from your conscience, as they deserue no waye
to be familiar with your nobilitie.

Plato

For to doe
y^ell is the
office of an
innocent.

Plato enterfayning an olde man as his speciall friende, mini-
stred to him no small trauell to refoyme his vices : and being of-
tentimes perswaded by his followers, to lose no more time, to
take away such desperate and hardened faults: Sure (saith Plato)
I had reason to be wearie to warn him, if I bare no more regard
to y^e office of a friend, than to y^e hope I haue to doe good by my tra-
uel: for so delicate is the lawe of friendship, that a friende oughte
rather to lose his paines, than leaue any scruple in his loyaltie.
This example serues as well to our purpose as the figure of the
great Priest Hele: and so to our matter. Not to do y^ell, I saue, is
the office of an innocent, euen so to giue ouer to do well, belongs
to a man negligente. To be bolde to be wicked, is the office of an
euil man: but to be desperate and defende the y^ell, is the worke of
a man wholly gouerned by the diuell: for that no man can be re-
formed of his sinne, if first he acknowledg not his fault: according
to the which (S^y) I haue to charge you, that in that you disputed
yesterdaye, you neither shewed your selfe a knight, a Christian,
nor a courtier. For, a Christian ought to examine his conscience,
the knight is tyed to his modestie, and the Courtier (aboue all o-
thers) ought to expresse affabilitie: and therefore, seeing that the
honourable Moare in the Court, is alreadie baptised and reconcil-
led to the sayth of Iesus Christ, and that by my trauel and against
the will of all the Moarish secte, you did against the charitie of a
Christian, abuse the profession of a knight, and stayne the repu-
tation of a ciuill Courtier when you called infidel, miscreant, and
infamous Moare. Are you that God wherof the prophet speaketh,
Scrutans corda & renes: taking vpon you to knowe whether thys
Moare be a Miscreant or a Christian? It maye be that you haue
measured your merits with his, and wayed in one ballaunce his
faith and yours: or, perhaps, you haue Gods at commaundement
to acquite your sinnes and giue you place amongst the iuste, sa-
ing you condemne others and iustisye your selfe: Wherein it see-
mes you remember not that to God only is reserued the trueth of
the secrete of such as are ordayned to be saued, and appointed to
be damned: so that if this Moare beleue in God as well as you, if
he be baptised as lawfullye as you, if he goe to the Church with
as god deuotion as you, and if we see him to do no acte, but of a
Christi

Christian, and in you is found no miracle. I see not how you have anye authoritie to call him Infidel, no more than he hath reason to doubt you to be a Christian. They be wordes of great rashnesse one man to vpbraide an other with suche iniuries: seeing that to be a good Christian, we are not only bounde to doe good dedes, but also to vse modestie and mylidenesse in our speche: other wayes if a Christian call his neighbour, fowle, he shal be guiltie of hel. And as there is no great difference of the iniurie for one man to cal an other a fowle, and to call him, Dogge: so, to a man receiued into the faith, there can not be a greater reproch than to be called an euill Christian: for that to be tearmed fowle, tendes but to the preiudice of the reputation of wisdom, but to be called a wicked Christian, toucheth a mans soule and defaceth his renoune: so that if Christ forbid vs Christians to call one an other, fowle, much lesse can he bryoke the outrage of greater iniuries: since by the schole and rule of this lawe, we are taughte to imbrace one an other with such sinceritie, as neither to strike with our hands, nor reproch or slander with our tongues. When I rebuked you for ministring such inciuilitie to the poore Moare, you answered that it was an aunciente custome of the countrey to call them so, in which respecte you helde it no offence to conscience to vpbraide them, nor breache of ciuilitie to vse the tearmes wherewith your tong was most enured. Oh, that men of vertue and honour, taking vpon them to correct a faulte, are bounde to greates consideration of the estate and nature of the faulte, least in seeking to reforme others, they condemne them selues: as maye be iustly imputed against you, who, in turning the custome of the countrey to the help of your fault to cal him Infidel, you committed the greater offence, according to the saying of God to Moses: Take heede O yee children of Israell, that when you enter into the lande of promise, you keepe no custome with the lawes of the Aegyptians. Wherein we are warned, that if the lawe of our countrey be euill, and the customes wicked, we oughte not onelye not to allowe of them, but also not to obserue them, since it is as lawfull to discontinue an yll custome, as to forbear to doe yll, and with as good libertie maye we reforme an yll lawe, though it hath stode by long continuance, as to tran-

translate an auncient garment, and reduce him to the presente fashion. The reuerente Moare founde him selfe muche iniured with your wordes, and the assistance not a little dishonoured: yea, the remeinder of that race being in good towardnesse to be adopted in to the Church made their reckoning not to become Christians, if for their faith, they should be vexed with such reproches: so y^e thys your fault is the greater, for that in following the children of Helie, you trouble suche as are baptised, and are the cause that others will not come to Christendome. *Vidi afflictionem populi mei in Aegypto. &c.* I am not (saith God to Moles) so carelesse as men thinke of those that serue me, nor forgetful to punish offenders: since I haue opened mine eares to the cryes of my people in Aegypt, & do see the great tyrannies which the gouernours of the kingdome vse against them, for which cause I wil draw them into libertie, & put the Aegyptians to punishment. *Wherin (with the exposition of S. Augustine vpon these wordes) the Hebrues felte them selues not so much wronged, nor god was so greatly displeased with the trauels they endured, as the particular iniuries which they receiued of the Egyptians. Which I beseech you, may warne you here after not to be so rash & abandoned to wordes, seeing I neuer knew any man minister iniuries to an other but there was inquisition made of his owne life and doings: yea, even to the deciphering of his race: which is salne out againste your selfe, for that at the instant when you reproched the reuerent Moare and called him infidel, there were that stode behinde your backe, that saide secretly, if he were descended of the Moares, your auncestours were of no better linage: such is the gaine that people of il tonges do reap, who, if they outrage such as are alieue, others wil deface theyr progenie that are dead: which being a iustice appointed to such as are ministers in malice, yet there it maye be auoyded, where is gouernement and restraint of tonge: and therefore I wishe you to vse charitie, to the end you may finde recompence of charitie, and forbear not to do wel, the better to nourish good example, & keepe you from the imputation of the sonnes of Helie.*

A letter to a noble man touching familiarly how
inconuenient it is for a man married, to haue
a woman friend besides his wife.



So, it brings no small grieſe vnto me that
after ſo long intermiſſion of letters, there is
preſent occaſion giuen, not to common accor-
ding to our cuſtome, but to debate iniuries
betwene you and your wiſe, who as I vn-
derſtand hath no leſſe neede of conſolation,
than you of correction, wherein by how much
I labour to ſeke out in whome reſteth the
fault, by ſo much doe I finde you guiltie in the occaſion, and in hir
no want of reaſon, aſſuring you that if I ſounde hir as diſordered,
as you are reported to be diſolute, I would aſwell pronounce hyr
woorthie of ſentence, as with all men you are holden boyde of merit
and if there can bee required of a man no more but that he bee good,
the ſame ought moſte of all to bee expreſſed in a woman, ſince in hir
is more ſubiection to iudgement, and leſſe abilitie to cloke or couer,
yea, if hir vertues appeare not in example, hir light burnes dymme
and as a ſhadow doth but delude the world: which being far other-
wiſe in the behauiour of your wiſe and my neece, it may pleaſe you
to pardon me, if in this letter I defende hir innocencie, and proue
your fault, ſince of friends counſell ought to bee taken, and of pa-
rentes remedies to be miniſtred. Corinthus a notable tyrant, aſoꝛe
he made choiſe of his wiſe, deſired of Demosthines to knowe what
conditions his wiſe ought chiefly to bee furniſhed withal: to whom
the Philoſopher gaue this counſell: beſure (ſayth he) that thy wiſe
be rich, to the ende the neceſſities of thy life may bee ſupplied, and
the countenaunce of thy eſtate plentifully ſupported. Let hir be no-
blye borne, the better to miniſter to thy reputation and ioyne ho-
nour to thy poſteritie. Let hir be young, to the ende hir ſervice may
better delight the, and thou haue no occaſion to finde marriage loath-
ſome. Let hir bee faire, the better to content thy deſires and contein
thee from ſtraunge affections. And let hir bee vertuous and wiſe, to
the ende thou mayeſt with ſecuritie reſoſe thy eſtate vppon hir go-
uernement: for, who takes a wiſe without theſe conditions, is ſure

Counſels in
the choýce
of a wiſe.

No man agreeeth wyth the conditiō of his fortune.

to find that which he feareth, and misse of that that oughte to make his marriage happie : since of all accidents ordained to trouble the life of man there can not bee a more infelicitie than to be ill encountered in mariage. There is nothing in this world so perfect, nor any person so thoroughly accomplished, to whom is not either farther perfection to be added, or iust cause of reformation or amendement. And such is the infirmitie of our common nature, that there are few of so full prosperitie, who in some respect complaine not against the qualitie of their estate : for many we see are raised to great wealth but they beare shame of their base linage : some innobled by birth & parentage, and yet are followed with pouertie : many blessed both with riches and nobilitie, but they want the delight of children : & some gladdened with procreation, and they eschewes made sorie with their ill demeanour. And to speake of natural things, we finde by experience, that if the fire comfort vs with his warinthe, it bereth vs againe with his heate : if the ayre minister recreation when it is temperate, it putteth vs againe into passion when it is violent, if we prayse the earth for his fruite, we murmur against hir when she is barren, if we haue commoditie by ryuers for the stay of our thirst and to breede fishes for our nurture, they are intolerable on the other side when they ouerflow their channells, and drowne our fields and cattell, too much meate breedeth indigestion, and too little makes the stomack weake, want of exercise brings sickness, and too much laboure is hurtfull, solitarines makes vs incline to melancholie and too much conuersion is importunate, riches are accompanied with care, and pouertie subiect to sorrow. But let vs exchange these customes with the actions of auncient noble men in times past in whom if there were causes of many merits, they beare also matter no lesse worthy of blame : for the Græcians praised Hercules for his force, but they accuse him of tyrannie : the Lacedæmonians attribute much to Lycurgus, for the zeale he bare to his common weale, but they note him for a most seuerer & rigorous Judge : with the Aegyptians, Isis is famous for his patience, but they staine him for his unchastitie : the Atheniens extoll Plato for his doctrine, but they accuse his greates conetousnes : the Romans make Cæsar to be mercifull, and with all report him to be haucie and proud : so that, if in men of so greates accounte haue bene found imputation of vice and

and fault: you and I (Syr) may conclude, that there is no breade without bzanne, no nutte without shell, no tree without barke, no cozne without chaffe, noz any man without fault. All me life long I haue heard men complayne of women, and women marmur agaynst men, in both which I think is one equall and common reason. For since there resteth betwene man and woman such difference in their creation, they must of congruent necessitie be contrarye in condition, and therefore excepte in Iesus Chyriste and his mother, it is blasphemy to think that any person is dispensed withal from erring or acquitted from falling.

Man and women differing in creation, must also differ in condition.

This discourse (Sir) haue I vsed the better to bying into your remembraunce the maryage betwene you and my niece which was accomplished rather by ioynt will and consent, than by necessitie either of you being in state well able and sufficient to preferre you. And seeing you can not deny, that when you made choice of hir, you promised to serue hir, and with gret importunities disauowed your selfe from all others to cleane vnto hir: it is neither reasonable noz iust that you now bequeathe your selfe to the seruice of an other, seeing by no equitie, you can bee due to none other but to hir onely. If there bee infirmities in hir, I hope they are not so desperate, but the office of a good husband may either refoyme or suffer them: and for imperfections, I see not how she can be charged with any, banig beantie, riches, linage and vertue. Oh how many wines bee there now a dayes, who if they bee rich, they lack beantie, if they be faire they want linage: if they haue birth, they are boyd of vertue, if they be vertuous, they are not yong, and being yong they may perhaps want discretion and governement: by meanes whereof as their husbands haue wherupon to repent, and their parents no small cause of sorowe: so let all men esteeme it no small felicitie to receiue in maryage a wife well borne, young, faire, riche, and vertuous, to whom he is bound as the soule to the bodie: and if he exchange and diuide him selfe to strangers, he standes guiltie of no small offence, and is subiect to no little danger. I heare (Sir) that you vse the seruice of other houses than youre owne in the nyght: that you delight to walke the streets and beholde the starrs that you visit curtisanes, and haue familiaritie with baudes: exercises fruely to decay your substance, and bring daunger to your person.

Infirmities in mariage.

I. y.

And

And I can not maruaile a little, that hauing already frayed almost all regions in Christendome, whiche ought to suffice to establish the race of your youth, that now you wil not seeke to put your minde in rest, the opportunitie so seruing together with the comoditie of so good a wife & large liuing. The vanities or follies which follow young men, are for the most parte referred to the griefes of their youth, but if we haunt lightnes after we be married, muche lesse that we can be excused seeing all the world standes vp to condemne vs: and therefore, to make Pilgrimage to suche Saintes as you worshippe, or visit shaded houses wherein dwell no bodie but curtilanes, women with paynted faces, or to be a stranger to your owne house wherein you finde nothing but vertue and vertuous delights: it can not but bying prejudice to your honour, hazarde to your soule, slander to your posteritie, and spoyle to your patrimonie: for that, being so possessed by strange women, where they haue no possibilitie to marry with you, they will labour to plume vpon you, till they haue left you neyther fether nor flesh. If you haue no regarde to your soule, at leasse looke back to your gods: seeing that from the day you enter marriage, & haue children, as touching your gods, you are no more Lord but onely a tutor and keeper of them: and therefore no lesse guiltie is he that loseth his owne gods, than he that robbeth other. But if you haue no respect to your gods: at least beare care to your honour, to the ende you may more easilie aspire to publique charge in the commune weale: whiche being not distributed to young men full of libertie, but to men of settled stay and grauitie, it becoueth you to remayne no longer as you are but to be suche one as you esteeme your selfe to be. If you beare no respect to your honour, at leasse vs consideration of your soule: for so delicate is the law of Iesus Christ, and so streight the commandementes of God, that they doe not onely forbidde men conuersation with strange women, but also condemne al desires that way. It becoueth you also to haue care ouer the securitie of your person and health: since it commonly happeneth to the man yemboldneth himselfe to drinke of all waters, and carveth a key to open other mens lockes, that in seeking to dishonour his neighbour, he shall suggeste perill to his owne life: your wife will endure hard fare, many crownings, restraint of libertie, al reproches, yea, though

though they be thundred with stripes, with all other perplexities, upon condition onely, that you loue hir alone, and sake no knowledg with others. For there is no greater dispayre to a married woman, than when hir husband dischargeth upon hir back all his iars quarrels, and passions, and reserueth his pleasures, ioyes, and companie for an other: yea, it is hard in whether of the two resteth the greater harte, either as touching the husband to doe so, or in respect of the wife to indure it. Wh it is in tollerable to the wife, to heare hir husbände merie abroade, and finde him frowarde at home, to haue him steale from hir to enrich his friend, to communicate with his minion, and bee a straunger to his wife, and to minister to the wantes of his concubine and bee without pittie to his proper chilozen. In the law of Christianitie, the same faith the woman is bound to keepe to hir husband, he is also bound to obserue to hir, but if wiues had the like authoritie to chastise, as husbands take libertie to accuse, sure they would neyther take to such sorrow the disorders of their husbändes, nor in them would be found suche facilitie to offend. Besides, from the season that man and woman bee vnited by the holy promise and couenante of maryage, they haue so smal iurisdiction in particular ouer theselues, y it is no smal kind of theft, if either the one, or the other, alienate or diuide their bodie. Consider therefore (Syr) the greate occasions you giue to your wife who hauing youth, riches, and beaultie, and courted with no simple inportunities, if she were other wise than she is, she would perhaps bestow hir harte upon some one of those many that bestow upon hir their eyes, occasion may doe much, and there is no worse thing to tempt a woman than the ill example of hir husband. For your part if you think your wife not worthe to receiue recompence of affection at least haue consideration of hir merit, and let not hir loyaltie discover your penurie, nor hir constancie complayne of your wante of honour. If you will not obserue to hir the lawe of a husband, for the respects of your soule, your honour, your goods, and your health: at leaste remember that what pleasures or felicities you finde in the companie of your concubine, are nothing in regard of the disquietes you shal find when you come home: for, how wise, how secret, how temperate or how holy soeuer a wife be, yet she had rather die than not to giue renenge to the iniuries of hir husbände, or not to make

No worse thing to tempt a wife than the ill example of hir husband.

him feele hir ielousie: and therefore to men that are drowned in fancye with soyraine women, it is in vaine to repose in the baudie who wil be corrupted, or in the concubine whose indifferencie makes hir a blab: seeing in cases of ielousie wines are so subtile, and with all so liberall, that the better to espie and trace out the confederacies of their husbands, they wil not sticke to corrupt the quicke by money, and coïure the dead by charmes. And so GOD graunt you that you want, and defend you from that you deserue.

A treatise of the resurrection of Iesus Christ, together with an exposition of the fifth Article of the Creede that he descended into hell, and rose againe the third day.



According to your request, I haue sente you here with the declaration of the fift Article of the Creede, in substance as I published it, but not in sort as I pronounced it: for that it is impossible that in the penne shoulde be represented the facilitie, grace, & edifying vertue of the song, according to the opinions of the best Philosophers & Oratores, both græke and Latine, with whom the penne was accompted insufficient, to satisfie or compare with the honour which they had gotten with the song, and specially to recorde or write sermons, wherein they held y^e the matter shoulde lose his grace, and the authour his reputation. Notwithstanding, according to your power to commaunde me, you shall finde no want of desire to do you seruice: albeit vnder this condition, that if you be not satisfied, the fault is more in your importunitie than in my charitie: and so to the matter.

The fifth article of our faith expressing that Christ descended into hel and rose againe the third day, containeth two partes, whercof the first comprehendes our confession that he went into hell, and in the second is contained his resurrection. Some diuines diuide it into two articles but we drawe it into one, containing (notwithstanding) two parts tending to one ende.

We confesse that our redeemer being buried, his holye body remained in the graue thre dayes, being in dede dead during that season

season : but his soule in the meane while was not ydle , for that it descended into hell to do there a wonderful action, whiche he accomplished : and so we confesse that on the thirde daye his soule was reioyned to his bodie to gine it reall and essentiall life : so that there can be no doubt that he rose not againe hauing obtayned the victorie against death.

Wherein, if we consider things in iudgemente and equitie, we shall finde great matter in the humilitie of the sonne of God, and in whō may be seene the singular mercie of the father not sparing his sonne: and his ready obedience to accomplishe the eternal will of his father, all inuiting vs to beare no small lone and thankfulnessse to him. In this article and in the former, are declared the degrees by the whiche the sonne of God descended, and embased himselfe euen to things incredible for a personage in that dignitie. The firste degree was to make him man, and to vouchsafe to be bozne at a time certaine he which was bozne eternally. The seconde was that hee yet humbled him selfe , more to suffer sentence and publike condemnation as a malefactor. In the third, he toke vpon him the torments of the crosse, a death most cruel, and more infamous than any other sorte of passion. By the fourthe, he was content to suffer death, not as God, albeit being God, but as man, in such sort as the very person of God suffered death. In the fifth, he suffered himselfe to be buried as others that were deade , making himselfe like them in all things, as if he had bene comprehended vnder the curse of Adam, to retorne into dust whereof he was formed : yea he that was free from sinne and the curse. And by the last stepp e or degree he descended into hel, whether were descended such as stood destitute of their proper iustice, to the ende to open to them the gate of the kingdom of heauen. By these degrees, if we consider spiritually the descending of Iesus Christe , we shall finde it as long as is the distance of Heauen from whence hee came, vnto the Centre of the earth whether hee descended. And as there restes no other place any further to embase the Ioune of GOD, so woulde he not be committed to more humilitie : onelye there remayned one degree wherby proceeded of sinne and the felowshippe of Sathan : out of the which the person of Christe was exempted, he which came to redeeme sinners and iustifie men, and to destroye the deuell. All that

The ladder
or degrees
wherby
Christ descended
from
heauen.

Golden Epistles.

Esaie. 35.

Iere. 12.

Iohn. 1.

he could suffer, to be made a sacrifice for our sinnes, the son of God was inclined and embased vnto it, sinne only except, wherevnto he coulde not be subiect, so that there is too greate enimitie betwene the iustice of the sauiour, and the malignitie of sinne. The greatest part of the degrees aboue mentioned concerning the descending and humilitie of the sonne of God, are declared by the Apostle, who speaking by the suggestion of the holy Ghost, sayth: That the sonne of God being very God, was content to disguise himselfe not to bee intreated of the world as God, but embalming his estate euē to take vppon him the forme of a bondeman, & appeare to the worlde in the representation of a man, becomming altogether a seruante. whose obedience refused not the pactions of death, yea the infamous execution of the crosse. In this (as is sayde) is expressed the greatest parts of this wonderfull embasement of estate, whiche the sonne of God toke vpon him, seeing of very God he is made verie man, and being man he embased him selfe vnder all men, being handled as a poore slaue of whome the worlde made no reckoning. From thence he suffered an other embasement, euen to be passed to condemnation of death, and not a death in common maner, but the execution wher vnto were ioyned dishonour, infamie, and bitter tormentes: Of this humilitie the Prophets haue witten saying. Hee was put in the ranke of offenders and accompanied with wicked men. In an other place Esaie giues this testimonie of him, that hee neuer hid his face from such as would buffet him, nor his shoulders from those that would strike him, nor his beard from any that would rent it. In Ieremie also is declared the assemblies of the wicked against the Lord, and the conspiracies which they leuied to persecute and destroy him, and to empoysen his meate and life. In S. Iohn albeit he had made the worlde, yet he was misknowne of the worlde, and the Euangelist hath comprehended in few wordes the depth of the place from whence the Lord descended, seeing he being the workman of the worlde, is come notwithstanding in such extremitie, that the worlde miskenne him so muche lesse, that he was acknowledged for lord and maker of the worlde seeing he was not iudged worthy to dwell in the worlde: being innocente, he hath bene condemned, and albeit his iustice and integritie were publique and manifest, yet the worlde made no conscience to thow vpon hym

him those great wrongs: yea, being assuredly knowne that his enemies accused him by false testimonie, yet the wise men of the world would rather condemne iustice than displease the wicked. Lastly, the humilitie and handling of Christe, agreed fullie with the Prophete Dauid speaking in the person of our Lorde in these tearmes: I am no man but a worne of the earth, the reproch, re- Psal. 18;
tract, and shame of men, and the scorne of the people. There re-
sted yet one degree, spoken of in this present article of the Crede,
wherein we confesse that the son of God descended into hell after
his death: and touching the declaration of this laste descending,
we haue to consider that this article may be vnderstanded in two
sorts, they both being certayne, catholique, and full of great myste-
ries. The firste intelligence hath bene alreadye begunne to be de-
clared, and containes a demonstration of the great humilitie and
wonderfull embasement suppozted by the sonne of God in this
worlde, being reduced to the utter extremities of sorowes, toz-
ments, shame, and infamie. There is no spirit sufficient to com-
prehende fully the great sorowe exprest by the Lorde in these
wordes: My soule is heauie euen vnto death: the feare and heauie-
nesse being so much the more apparat, great and terrible, by how
muche they enforced dropes of bloud to fall from his face euen to
the earth. All the other passions wherewith the world vered him,
were of no meaner effecte, and therefore complayning to his fa-
ther, he cryed, Oh saue me Lord, for the waters and broyles of the
tempestes are entred, euen to take away my life. I am sunke in a
goulfe of myre, and can finde no place firme to fixe my foote vp-
on: Psal. 68;
Wherein is ment no other thing but the stoyme and furie of
our sinnes with the punishments due, together with a significati-
on of all our myseries, and that which the Diuel and the worlde
coule doe by the meane of the vnrighteous and wicked, keeping
warre against our Saniour with persecutions, tozmentes and
verations. In this sorte was his descending into the deapth and
bottome of the earth, and by consequence the firste intelligence of
our article, which, together with all that dependes vpon it, maye
be proued by the seconde vnderstanding whiche hereafter shall
sollowe. And the better to vnderstande it, we must presuppose,
that suche as afore the comming of Christ were dead in his sayth,

Golden Epistles.

in his spirite and knowledge, had obtayned pardon, and were truly reconciled with God, notwithstanding the gates of heauen were not open to them, vntil the Lord which deliuered them had passed therin, as the only iustifier and true pacifier.

In the meane while they remained in rest in a place named Hell, or bottome of the earthe, expecting their deliuerie when the sonne of God should come to drawe them from thence: but all this while, they were neither in the companie of the damned, and much lesse endured their torments, neither had the Diuell anye iurisdiction of them: seeing, if they had bene of the reprobate and damned sort, the Diuell had had perpetuall power ouer them, as he hath had and hath ouer the cursed and miserable, who dye without repentaunce of their sinnes, and without participating in the benefite of the bloude of the sonne of God. And for that by the occasion of sinne and raigne of the Diuell, the gates of heauen were cloased, and the ioye and vse of beatitude stode restrayned and limitted to a certayne time, I saie that that place was a prison and the prison of Hel, a place wherein the fathers of saythe expected the coming of the sauour of the world.

In this place then were the auncientes that were iust, not that they felt the torments of the damned, but had only a carefull desire to see the propheties accomplished, and themselves deliuered, and all to inioye the presence and companie of the sauour, together with that most happie vision of the maiestie of God. So that in this sort did the soule of Iesus Christe descende into that place, accompanied with his diuinitie which neuer forsooke him, and dissoluing the prisons, he brake in peeces al the chaines and links that helde tyed the soules of the faithful. This was it that Zacharie the Prophete ment, when he saide, that By the vertue of the bloude of thy stomacke and of thy testament, thou haste drawne thy prisoners out of the lake without water. Wherein the Prophete speaketh euen with the sonne of God, as true God and Saviour of men, and foreseeing such great miserie, he sayth, that By the vertue of his bloude wherein consisted the saluation of men, he had drawne his subiectes and friendes out of their darke prison, which he signifieth by the lake without water. Seeing that in suche like places conquerours are wont to bestow their prisoners

for their more punishmente and better securitie in prison: by the same also the Prophet takes the comparision of a great Prince & entred into the land of his enemy, not to shake his sword & remaine there but to surmount & hauock his enemy & take fro hym by force his seruants and subiects, whom of long time he had holden prisoners. By this is shewed the great power of Iesus Christ according to his owne prayse in these termes: So long as a strong man (sayth he) and wel furnished with weapons, keepes his house and defendes it by force, al that hee hath is in peace: But if there come one more mightie than he, he makes him forsake his guard, chaseth him out of his house, and becomes Lord of all his goods. Euen so did our Lord with the Diuell, expressing vpon him bys wonderfull power, and great victorie whiche he obtayned against the kingdome of darkenesse: For, seeing the Diuell hath layde aside his weapons, it is a signe he is vanquished: and seeing death is conquered, the Diuell muste needes remaine disarmed of armes: and seeing the depthes and bottomes of the earth haue bene illuminated by the light and presence of our sauour, the kingdome of darkenesse is defeated and brought to ruine. And so for conclusion, we finde three great considerations in the first part of this article: wherof the first hath bene debated, comprehending the great descending and extreme humilitie which the sonne of God toke vpon him to saue man and confounde the workes of sinne. The second consistes in this, that whilest his most holy body accompanied with his diuinitie, remained in the graue to testifie that hee was truely deade: his soule descended into the darke prisons, where were deteyned the holy fathers notwithstanding they were not in the power of the Diuell: For albeit they were iustified by the vertue of the mediator and their faith & repentaunce, yet they were banished from heauen and put as it were in prison, to witnesse the effect and operation of sinne, together with the necessitie which man hadde of the comming of the sonne of God to giue them their full remedie: So that the sauour of the world entering into this prison, & confounding al darknes by his great lighte, did fully comfort & satisfie by his presence, the holpe soules which expected him with a desire far aboute the iudgement or comprehension

The vision
and conso-
lation of the
auncient
fathers.

of **mxii**. It was then that those good auncient fathers sawe the accomplishment of the promise long afore made to them, that Out of their seede shoulde rise one that shoulde breake the heade of the great Serpent. When all their desires were accomplished, beholding euen with their eyes the maiestie and presence of him, whom so often they had scene in contemplation and spirite : in whom they had layde vp all their hope : from the remembraunce of whom they did neuer swarne, and by the only thoughte of whō they had ouercome all their aduersaries : taking comfort in hym in their miseries and perplexities . When did Abraham see him who was promised to blesse all his people and all nations, in the faith of whom he was circumcised, and made alliance with God. Isaac sawe him whome he p̄figured when his father thought to haue sacrificed him : he sawe the sprinckles and marks of the blond, whose effusion was most swete befoze the face of the Father from the beginning of the world. Iacob who had called vpon his sauour in this death, saw his desires fulfilled, no moze resting which he might require. Melchisedech saw the great sacrificatour, the sacrifice of whom had neither ende nor rule. Moses spake then with the greate P̄phete which God promised to sende to deliuer his people from the captiuitie of the spirituall *Egypt*. whose power and authoritie shoulde be so peremptorie and great, that who woulde not obey him, shoulde dye eternall death . And the great P̄phete David embraced then the helth which he had so long desired : he saw then that great and mightie Ch̄rist, of whō he had made so many holpe ditties and songs, and in whose hope he had so many times taken comfort and banquished sinne. Lastly, all the iust of the times past, saw the accomplishment of theyr desires, the ende of their sighes, the remedie of their miseries, the comfort of their sorowes, and the victorie againste deathe, hell, and sinne, and all by the presence of the Captaine whiche came to guide them euen vnto the sight and maiestie of God. Oh, how possible are the perplexities whiche men suffer vnder hope of the promises of God : howe happie is that abiding or expectation, which for payne hath the veritie of God : Howe wel assured and well recompenced is that patience whiche is of long sufferance and neuer swarueth : All these auncient fathers were in diuerse seasons,

seasons, and yet they had all one faith, they were all inspired with
 one spirit, all serued one Lord, all hinged and dyed in one hope: they
 all bare their crosse in this life: they all were made prisoners in
 that place: lastly, they all saw in one instant, him whom they had
 so long expected, together with the fulfilling of all the promises
 which had bene made to them. Where the saviour of the worlde
 spake to them, publishing good newes touching their remedies
 and restitution: and communicated with them the greatnesse of
 the mysteries whiche it behoued him to do for their redemption:
 there is no doubt but with them he vsed most deare familiaritie:
 yea, he who was alwayes so ioyfull with his owne, vsed no lesse
 fauour and consolation to those with whom his father had made
 alliance, and so iustlie kept his promises. And they likewise ren-
 dred no small thanks and prayes to the Lord, that had so accom-
 plished his worde for the saluation of the worlde, yea, they depa-
 red out of their olde prisons with no smal triumphes, to followe
 their Captaine which had overcome so many and great enemies.
 The thirde consideration is, that our saviour Jesus Christe didde
 not only breake the prisons and deliuer the holy fathers, but al-
 so by this descending, he brought a great astonishment and feare
 into hell and ouer the whole kingdome of the Diuell, making
 him knowe that his forces were dissolved, and that nowe was
 brought to effect the breaking of his head expressed long before by
 prophesie and that the gates of his darke kingdome were shrow-
 open, and all his workes brought to nought. Euen as a Captaine
 victor entring into the fortresse of his enemy, and hauing once
 pluckt downe the munition and ensignes, so commits it to ruine
 and spoyle, that he leaues an easinesse to subdue it as often as hee
 will: euen so in the same sort the sonne of God gaue such a terrour
 to the kingdome of hell: that Sathan and his ministers knewe
 well, their forces were broken, and that there remainned vnto the
 no possibilitie estones to reestablishe a kingdome of sufficiente
 power to resiste the meanest souldiour of that great Captaine, and
 that hereafter hee coulde take no prisoners except some wretched
 cowards and people of small valure, whiche woulde offer them-
 selues to be Captiues of their proper and miserable will. In
 this sort the principallitie of hel so felt the inuincible and assured

power of him, who being dead and his bodie left in the sepulchre, shaked them not withstanding with so great warre, that on the one side he leaped those prisoners that were kept restrayned, and on the other, his vertue so weakened their infernall forces, that they remained euer since vanquished. It was then that they saw and knew that their hel, whether they thought to haue reduced all mankind, was forced and dissolved: and that sinne whiche they had introduced into the world and death that ensued it, were dead and vanquished by the conquest of this newe and invincible Prince: that was it whiche the Apostle spake of, that the sonne of God hath defaced and sacked the powers of hell, & the world, and putting them to publike confusion, and triumphing over them in his proper person so that the enterprises of our Saviour in this comparison represent vnto vs the foune and actions of a valiaunt Captaine marching before men, before Angels, and before the face of the father, with a great troupe of enemies vanquished, bounde, and spoyle of their forces.

In the beginning of this article, we touched that our lord made hys descending by certayne degrés: yea, euen to a wonderfull embasement of him selfe, and knowne onely to the diuine wisdom. This embasement hath bene prophesied vnder the signe of descending from heauen vnto the bottome of the earth: but now we say that of all those degrés by the which he descended, and of all other things which in the wisdom of the world he made hym selfe so embased and vanquished, he carried a wonderful victorie which increased alwayes more and more. In the first degree hee was made man, that was the true and eternal sonne of God. This steepe and wonderfull humilitie albeit it is great: yet he neuer abandoned his diuinitie, no, he could not lose it, and muche lesse diminish it: by it his humanitie was greatly exalted, being by the same meane so connered with the diuinitie, that one selfe person was God and man. If it were possible that God might gaine in any thing, it might be saide that he gained in this, but: having want of nothing, he gaines not as a needie man, for, he hath no necessitie of any thing, and muche lesse can there be added to hys greatnesse. But because the gaine of men is great in this receyving a benefit which was neuer communicated wyth Angels (for God neuer tooke alliaunce nor scede of Angels, but choosed the

God hath
no necessity
of any
thing.

Heb. i.

linage of Abraham) we say also that there was a gain and profit to god, being a true declaratio of his riches, & of his works; which are comfortable to him, together with a plaine manifestatio of his mercie. This victorie against sinne & the Diuel is truly worthy of the person of the sonne of God. Desiring that mankind whiche was put to perdition by the subtiltie of the serpente, is redeemed and redeliuered from the seruitude of the Diuell, and restored to an estate of abilitie to be the children of God, by the meane of this sauour. The seconde degree of this descending of the Lorde, was in that he was condemned publiklie as a malefactor. In this descending there is a greate wante, and yett by it he recovered a wonderful victorie. For, being our brother he deliuereth vs from the eternall condemnation, so that all our libertie and absolution dependeth vpon his condemnation: he hath payde the debtes whiche he made not, euen so those shall be discharged whiche owed them. He was condemned by the sentence of men, and to be absolved in the iudgemente of God, hauing deliuered vs from the curse of the lawe which had condemned vs. The third degree was when he was iudged to death of the Crosse: for by his death he brake the forces of deathe, despoiling him of his weapons wherewith he had made so great & vniuersal slaughters: for which cause the Apostle demaundes of death where was his victorie, & where were become the meanes by the whiche he determined to murder so many men.

By the fourth stepp or degree he was put into the sepulchre. But the better to comprehend the true sence of this passage, it is mete to make some iudgement and construction of things. The historie of the Gospel declareth, that our Lorde being deade, Ioseph demaunded of Pilate to take his bodie from the crosse and burye it, whiche Pilate suffered by the ordinance of God. And hauing take it fro the crosse, they wrapped it in a new linnen cloth, and layde it in a sepulchre where no man had yet lied last lyfe, hauing embaulmed him with the oymmentes whiche Nicodemus broughte, they left the bodie in the graue, rolling to the mouth thereof a greate stone: (Marie Magdalene and the other Marie considering wel in their vnderstanding the saide sepulchre.) All this serueth to two effectes: the firste is to render a testimonie of the

the truth of the death of Jesus Christ; shewing also a greates my-
sterie comprehended vnder the graine: but the Church compre-
hendes both the one and the other in one worde, his sepulchre:
and that he remained there thre dayes, expresseth the trueth of
his death, making by that meane his resurrection more euident.
In this article the embasement and humilitie of the sonne of god
encreaseth more and more; as also his spirite and victorie whiche
he hath obtained for vs: for, it is saide first of all, that he suffered
the condemnation of Pilate, and was executed, and so being dead,
his bodie was buried. It seemes that al these bring increase to the
victorie of the Diuell, the world, and death: but of the contrarie,
it is our victorie that is enlarged: for, by how muche nere both ap-
proch and is manifested the death of our Lorde, by so muche more
is at hande the ende and ruine of our death: death is deade, and
vanquished in such sort that he hath no power against vs, and for
such one we put him into the graue. Esay hath prophesied that the
Lorde shoulde destroy death eternallye, and drie vp the teares of
his people, and take away the dishonour of the earthie. In whiche
wordes may be discerned the full victorie against death, whiche
hath no power to confounde nor make sorrowfull the true Chri-
stian. It is not said by this that we shall not die, & not see death
whiche is natural: but by this is expounded that the pricks and sor-
rowes of death are vanquished, and haue no authoritie against a
Christian, seeing that for the erchaunge of this temporal life, he
goth to the eternall life, accompanied with this faith that he hath
had that Christ is his redemption and life. In this is performed
the prophesie of Osee, speaking in the name of the Lord: Oh death
I will be thy death, the same agreeing with the Apostles, who asse-
ureth vs that our death is vanquished by the passion of Jesus
Christ, and our sepulchre buried in his: yea, our death hath losse
his forces which made him raigne ouer vs, and our graue hath
lost his power and possibilitie to retaine vs still, seeing it cannot
now any more hold vs in proprietie or perpetuitie, but as it were
by reputation and for a time. In this sepulchre of the sonne of
God is also containned the mysterie of the consanction which we
haue with him by death and the graue: the ende of the death and
burying of Jesus Christ tending to this, that we die and be buried
with

him. For, as the bands & forces of our death were broken by the vertue of the death of him that killed death: even so by our death we may vanquish the stings and pricks of that death that the merite of our sinnes may be made due to vs. This is the same which the holy Ghost speaketh, by the mouth of the Apostle: Wee are buried with Christ in his death, to the ende wee participate with his life, being impossible we shoulde communicate with his life, if firste we haue no action or societie with his death, so that we can not haue part in the one, vnlesse we accompanie him in the other: and so the last degree containes (as hath bene already declared) that he descended into hell, committed the Diuel to spoyle, and brake his prisons for euer: wherein (according to the text of the Apostle) his victorie increased and became greater, even by the same measure that he embased and humbled himselfe.

Thus much for the first part of our article, and so let vs descende to the second part, wherein we confesse that the sonne of God rose againe from death, and the thirde day returned reallye and truly into life.

Touching the resurrection of Christ.

LIke as the foure Euangelistes haue vsed great diligence to particulate the outrages, condemnation and death of the sonne of God: even so they haue bene no lesse carefull to set out, point by point, his restoring and resurrection. According to the computation of the time vsed in the Gospel, he dyed the Fridaye at nine a clocke in the evening, and rose againe the Sunday following in the morning, so nely whereunto we agree, that he remayned three dayes and three nights in his graue, taking part of the Fridaye, whych was the day of the death for the whole day: and the residue of the Sundaye (being his resurrection) for another whole day: al whiche do serue manifestly to the prooue and truth of his death, and restoring to life: being all befoze ordeyned and established in the counsell of God.

Ioseph demaunded of Pilate his bodie to burie it: but Pilate de-

strous to know whether he were dead in vade, sent for the same purpose a Centenier to discover a truth, and then condescended to Iosephes request: yea, when they came to take downe the dead bodies from the crosse, because they shoulde not remaine there the next day, being the great feast of their sabboth, they found the two thieues alieue, and our Lord dead: all which, with many other approbations which may be alledged, together with some particulars which we meane to ioyne to the sequels of these, are sufficient proofes of his resurrection.

Our Lord being thus put into the graue & embaulmed, soldiers were set to garde the sepulchre: and in the meane while his disciples remayned sorrowfull and heauie, hauing verie little hope of his resurrection, and small knowledge of the scriptures to the vnderstanding of this myserie, They believed that their master had preached the truth, and y he was most iust in his woordes, and that god had sent him: but touching the matter of resurrection, they were verie blinde and doubtful.

After there was time ynough perfozmed for the pzoofe, faith, and testimonie of his painefull death, and to establishe the accomplishment of the myseries and prophesies: the Sunday morning, bringing with him the triumphes of hell and death, he rose againe and returned to life, and to such a life, that after that, death had no more power ouer it, being defaced and deuasted of all meanes effeances to exercise his iurisdiction.

Immediately after he was risen againe, he appeared to his Disciples, to assure them of the consolations giuen vnto them before he died, & withal to accomplish the woordes spoken and promised by hym, That he woulde rise againe the third day. The first person to whom he reuealed himselfe after his resurrection, was the virgin Marie his mother, as who aboue all others liued in most expectation for him and he likewise bare vnto hir a most deare affection: for, if we consider hir by hys faith, she hadde it more great than al the rest: and if we haue regarde to seruices, she merited wpth the best, hauing nourished him and followed him with no small care, pouertie, and perplexitie thirtie three yeares: in hys is expessed a good testimonie of hys deathe: for that standing at the foote of the Crosse, where she felt the accomplishment of the prophesie of Simcon, That the sword of sorrow should pearce through hir en-

trailes : she was chosen of the father to serue in an estate of greate excellencie : euen so was she accomplished with thoughts and actions meete for the seruice of suche a function. And albeit, both by hir perseuerance (being greater than the rest that followed the Lorde) and that the trauelles of his death were of more passion to hir than to others, hauing more interest therein by nature : we may gather that she was the first of that holy companie to whome he disclosed his resurrection : yet the Euangelistes ascribing nothing to the singularitie of persons, leaue all that aparte, and recite to whome hee appeared, with all such circumstances and p^{ro}oues, as serue for testimony against the people of the Iewes. Hee appeared to Marie Magdalene, in forme of a Gardener, in the self same garden where hee had bene buried. Hee appeared to his disciples the selfe same day in the place where they were drawne together for feare of the Iewes. Hee appeared to two disciples which went to Emaus. At the ende of eight dayes he appeared once again to his disciples, S. Thomas being then present, who was absent the first time. Lastly, hee was seene of his disciples nere the sea of Galilee, there being yet besides these so many other testimonies to confirme this truth, that it were but superfluous to adde more to the authoritie of these. Thus much for the narration of the historie.

And like as the resurrection of that Messias was of great importance, so also was it prefigured and foreshewed by the Prophetes that wente afoze : for, Ionas was throwne into the sea, and swallowed of a Whale, and yet by the mercie of God after he had remained three dayes and three nightes in the bellie of the fishe, he came out safe and sounde to accomplish the commaundement of God. In this Ionas the seruant of the almightie, was a figure of our Saviour : for, as hee was cast into the sea to saue from wracke all the others that were in the shippe, and that by the consente and determination of the mariners : euen so our Lord was past to condemnation by the counsell and resolution of men, and for their safetie throwen into the sea of persecution and death : in such sort that the earth receiued him as it doth other dead bodies, reteining him three days & three nightes, as a body delected without life, & yet in the end the power of God raised him againe out of the graue, hauing vanquished death. Of this beside other propheties, David hath writte

most manifestly, speaking in the person of our Lord as a man and
 and that by the inspiration of the holy Ghost: I alwaies (saith he)
 set afore mine eyes the Lord, whome I haue of my right hand to
 keepe me that I fall not: For this cause doe I reioyce, and my
 tongue shall beare testimonie of my contentment, but specially
 for that my flesh shall rest in hope. For, Lord, thou wilt not leaue
 my life in the graue, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption.
 Thou hast shewed me the way of life, euen so shalt thou fill me
 with pleasure by thy presence: For thou bearest in thy right hand
 a perpetuall blisse. In these wordes the Lord sheweth the singular
 fauour which he receiued of his father, in that death had not domi-
 nation ouer him, but was subdued and vanquished, shewing with
 all the glad some contentment he had to see the eternall Father on
 his right hands: in this hope he offered his bodie to the death, and
 dispersed it vpon the Crosse, and receiued the graue, being certaine
 of his resurrection and victorie, and that as wel touching himselfe,
 as also for all mankynde: wherein declaring also his confidence
 and ioye of his victorie, he sayeth that his Father hath not
 suffered that his life shoulde remaine prisoner in the graue for e-
 uer, and much lesse that his soule shoulde be there detained, and not
 returne eftsoues to be reunited to his body: and lastly that his most
 holy bodie conceived by the holy Ghost in the wombe of the virgin,
 and which had passed so many passions of toymes for the seruice
 and obedience of his father, should not suffer corruptiō in the graue
 but afoze nature could accomplish that operation, his soule shoulde
 eftsoues, receiue coniunction with his bodie.

The Prophete sayth (moreouer) that he hath shewed him y way
 to returne to life: concluding with action of thanks, that he hath
 surmounted death and sinne. The sonne of God did not only obtain
 priuiledge to rise again, but also to him was ioyned power to make
 his resurrection afoze there was any such signe of corruption in his
 body, as naturallly appears in others that be dead: this respect was
 kept on the behalfe of his most holy person, and the flesh whiche he
 hadde taken for that effect, being pure and without any marke of
 sinne. Besides al these, we may consider vpo the end of this Psalm, a
 great myserie of the victorie whiche our Lord obtayned against
 death, together with the assuraunce of our resurrection, the same

leaving vs satisfied and certaine that once againe we shall reenter into the possession of our bodies, after we haue abandoned them by the rigor of death.

With this Psalmes Sainte Paule proues the resurrection of the Messias against the Iewes, saying, that Dauid was deade and buryed, whose sepulchre was wel enough knowne amongst the Iewes: concluding, that seeing the bodie of Dauid had passed by that corruption which is common and generall to all deade men, it was not possible that those wordes shoulde be vnderstanded by him, and therefore what he said, he ment it by Iesus Christe, whome neither hell nor the graue had power to deteyne, and to whose fleshe coulde be attributed no sense or sufferance of corruption: so that Dauid being a Prophete, and hauing receiued promise by oathe that the Messias shoulde descend of his seede, prophesied of his coming vnder the foyme of wordes afoze recited.

This is of greate impoꝛtaunce for Christians, to whom it is a true approbation and summarie of all the woꝝkes which the Lord did and of all our religion, together with an assured gage or pawne of all our hope. S. Paule saith, that it is concluded, and the resolution alreadie set downe against the aduersaries and vnbeleauing, that Iesus Christ is the sonne of God, the same being proued in this, that the father hath raised him from the dead with a great force and wonderful testimonie, thereby to shew that he was his only sonne. Wherein on the one side mighte be seene the sentence of men, the condemnation of the world, the reprobation of the people of the Iewes, the iniuries, outrages, and toꝝments of the crosse and of death, which may alleage againste the sauour of the worlde that he was not the sonne of God, but an abuser: seeing he was condemned by so greate personages, endured so many afflictions, yea, fired on the crosse in suche sorte and such extremitie, that the miserable worlde might esteeme him for such one as of long time had ben prophesied: that is, that hee was not reputed a man as others were, but as one most abandoned of God and of al men. And on the other side might be seene the holy prophesies, woꝝkes and wordes of our Saviour, and his doctrine expꝛessing the reason of his coming, and the mysterie of hys deathe, together with the sentence of his Father, who to shew him selfe true in his woꝝkes and promises, had raised him

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him againe from death, declaring that he was his true sonne. All these things being of suche importance were foretolde by Iesus Christ afore his death, being willing to prophesie and publish his resurrection both to his friendes and to his enemies, to comforte the one, and conuince the other: yea, he thought mete to manifeste it to all, to make the worlde vnderstand that he was sent of the eternal father to saue the worlde, and that it was he that had bene promised in the Lawe, offering himselfe to death of his onely and proper will. The Iewes demaunded of him some signe to knowe what he was, but he answered that they shoulde haue no other signe but that of Ionas: for, as Ionas issued out of the bellie of the Whale the thirde day, so the thirde day after his death he shoulde likewise rise out of the centre of the earth, hauing in that action vanquished death.

As he went once to Hierusalem, he tolde his disciples that he should be deliuered into the handes of the Gentiles: he communicated the forme of his death, assuring them that the third day he should rise againe: and speaking with them a little before his death, he comforted them, saying, that after his resurrection he would go before them to Galile: so that our confession by the which we acknowledge our Lord to be risen againe the thirde day, is confirmed by god and great testimonies requisite in a thing of so hygge mysterie and importance, being also matter of no small consolation to the children of God, together with assured testimonies that may be gathered against the wicked in the holy scriptures and predictions which our Lord made before his death.

Certaine meditations and considerations vpon the resurrection of Iesus Christe.



The first consideration that the faithful Christian may take of this resurrection of Christ, dependeth vpon the meane we haue already spoken of. For, in his resurrection we may comprehend that which appertaineth to the dignitie of his person, to declare hym suche one as he is. By which he hath shewed that he came to vanquish and surmounte sinne and

and death, and to pronounce, that as who soever would solve him should live eternally, so to such was reserved everlasting death as would not obey his word and doctrine. For, in him (saith he) is contained resurrection and life, yea, and the salvation of those that believe in him.

To that to prove these things, and assure consolation to all such as should give faith to his words, it was requisite, that he should not onely manifest himselfe the author of life in raising others, but that also he should expresse it in his proper person, giving this testimonie of him selfe, that albeit he was dead, yet hee had more power than death, so that he was able to returne to life. By this it appeareth that the resurrection of Christ, is a true proofe of his greatnesse, and a declaration that he is the Sonne of God, hath surmounted all travells and perplexities, hath domination over death, and overcome hell, sinne, and the diuell, seeing he hath disarmed them of their principal weapons, where with they did tyrannies over the linage of man, whiche is death that folloved. It is also a proofe, that as we honour, serve, and believe in a man dead and crucified, so also we muste obey, follow, and serve in faith a man that hath forgotte his resurrection, & which is risen againe from the dead, seeing that one of the reasons why he dyed, was, the more to declare his power, and manifest further his force & excellencie of life together with his power against the kingdom of sathan.

In the seconde consideration is inclosed a wonderfull secrete, greatly availing the estate of mankinde, it is divided into two parts, according to the testimonie of the scripture, wherof the one consists in his death, & the other in his resurrection. Touching his death, we have already debated that in it was comprehended the death of our travelles, the death of our death, the mortification of our olde Adam, and the spoile of the forces of the wicked roote of sin whych raigned over us. And in his resurrection we say now we is comprehended the reestablishment of our life, the newnesse of our iustice, the vertue and spirituall generation of the new Adam in us: the workes of this new life, the hope that this newe people of God hath to returne to heaven, & finally the thoughts and operations agreeable to the maiestie of God. Christ was not sacrificed onely for himselfe, but for us: he is not risen againe onely to declare

what he was, but withal to make himselfe such a one to vs as his Father might receiue vs: he is dead for our sinnes, and risen againe for our iustification: his death made to die all wicked things, but in his resurrection were reuiued all good things.

In effect we haue to consider touching the vertue of the myserie of the resurrection, that he is also so risen againe in vs spirituallie: that if it be not long of our obstinacie and rebellion we shall see & foze of his resurrection in vs, that is, he will ingender in vs a power and will to doe the woꝝkes woꝝthy of a newe life, and will make vs to rise againe to a newnesse of life, by the whiche we shall be founde agréable befoze the face of God: and being risen with him we shall vanquish death and sinne, and be made free from the seruitude of Sathan, being affected to the commaundementes of God, louers of his iustice, and zelous of his gloꝝye, to participate in the ende heauenlye life whiche we haue with the communion whiche we haue with the life of Iesus Christ in thoughts and woꝝkes: so that let all Christians vnderstande, that if in humilitie they search a remedie for their sinnes, opening with all & gate of their hart, they shall finde within Iesus Christ raised againe: and that being in the companie of so great a Lord liuing, who hath vanquished death, they can not haue in them any deade thing: for, they shall also arise againe spirituallie with the Lorde into that newnesse of life wherof we haue spoken. Let vs therfoze take heede to refuse the mortification of our wicked woꝝkes, of our disordered appetits, and our wicked affections. For, if we bow or bende our selues we shall without doubt appertaine to the other parte of this myserie, and rise againe with Iesus Christ. In this sort is to be vnderstanded the saying of the Apostle, That we are buried with Christe by Baptisme, and dead to our sinnes, and to our olde Adam. For that as Iesus Christ is risen againe from the deade for the gloꝝie of the Father: so we must enter into a newnesse of life, being assured to keepe him companie in the resurrection, if we accompanie him in his death. He died to make our sinnes die, and liued againe to geue life to our iustice, and therfoze it behoues vs to die as touching our sinnes, and to be diligent to do good woꝝkes: wherevnto let euerie good Christian referre al his care and studie, & raise al his thoughts demanding all those thinges in his prayers, and searching them
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neither more nor lesse than hee would doe a precious treasure wherein lyeth hidde all his felicitie. The victorie is already gained, and the faithfull are assured of their forces, for that the sonne of God soliciteth for them, and holdes all these benefits in his disposing.

In him we may be bolde to repose our suretie, seeing he hath so much suffered for vs : and to make vs communicate with these graces, his mercie wil neuer fayle vs, seeing he hath not denyed it vs to get them. Sure, in respect they haue cost him so deare, & that the payment is already made, it will not bee harde to giue them vnto vs.

In the third consideration of this article, the good Christiā hath to vnderstande, that in the resurrection of the Lorde, we get not onely spirituall resurrection as hath bene saide, but also we haue assurance of the resurrection of our bodies. So that considering that Iesus Christ is risen from the dead for our wealth and profite, we maye be assured that he is risen both in bodie and soule, and that our resurrection is no lesse certain than his rising again, being the assurance and gage of our resurrection, and he being in all things our first borne and captaine, he marched before vs, and we must followe him. All the wretchednesse that the diuel hadde caused, were repaired by the son of God : for, as the Diuel threwo spirituall death vpon mankind, so in the vertue of our sauiour that death is destroyed and vanquished, and a life spirituall giuen vnto men. The Diuel procured corporall death to māns race (for death was brought into the world by sinne) but the sonne of God hath toynded to vs a corporall resurrection. For, as death was introduced by a man, so by a man came restitution and resurrection. We were all deade in Adam, euen so are we all reuiued and raised againe in Iesus Christ. This accomplishment appertaines to the liberalitie of the diuine maiestie, whiche hath reestablished and restored vs to the benefites, whiche he hath already communicated to vs. Our death is vanquished on all parts, and on all sides our life is estones reestablished. We are absolued and made free of all things, seeing we haue on our side the death and life of Iesus Christ: the soueraigne bountie drawes vs from sinne, the sacrifice is offered, and we haue obtained pardon for our iniquities :

being but poore and wretched slaues we are made rich, and haue obtained libertie to be the children of God. And if wee lose this benefite, it is eyther for some newe fault of ours, or that wee will not cast or chaunge our old skinne. In effecte, in this Article is disclosed the greate humilitie and mercie of the sonne of God, who refused not to go into the darke prisons of the earth, to deliuer the soules of the iust there deteined, and despoyle the diuel of al his force and power, to the end that men may with more ease vanquish and surmount him. We see also that after all this, he rose againe the third day and returned into true life, yea a life so excellent that death hath no more power ouer it, nor any possibilitie of eschewes to preiudice it. We haue shewed how this resurrection hath bene sufficiently iustified euen by the places of scripture according to the testimonie of the creede, That Christ rose againe the third day, according to the scriptures, whiche seemes to haue bene taken of the Apostle. We haue also declared howe necessarie was the resurrection, for the approbation of dignitie of the person & doctrine of Christ, seeing that in the same is expressed the sonne of God. We haue also debated howe it is to be vnderstanded and practised this greate mysterie, partly for the regarde of our Lord, and partly for the resurrection spirital and corporall, whiche he workes in vs by vertue of his resurrection. There remaines now to declare who they be that practise the contentes of this Article in fayth and workes; and who they be that satisfie it not. Suche as professe and practise the substance of this article, as appertayneth, are those that perseuere in the mortification of their sinnes, their fleshe, and their disordered suggestions of the olde Adam, that they reduce and bring him euen to the graue, that is, that they make a full and perfect victorie of him, with a great remouing in themselves, and a resolute hatred to all wicked and ill actions: returning by the same meane into a newnesse of life, newe desires, and new operations and actions: being lastly altogether conformed to that newnesse which the sonne of God is wont to communicate with such as are risen againe with him: those be they that accompanie our sauour. For, as he is risen againe to be neuer after made subiect to death: so the faithful risen againe spiritually, seale them-
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selues so conuerted and out of taste of the workes of sinne, that the spirituall death can not pearce so deepe as their hearte. And as our Lord rose againe triumphing, so shall they also haue a glorious restitution, being repurged of all wicked affections and inclined to all good thinges to whome the yoke of the Gospell shall seeme easie and swete, and shall trauell in great thirste and appetite to obserue the commaundements of God. Their charitie shall inflame, their patience prepared to suffer all paines and tribulations, they are glorified in the glorie of Iesus Christ, they haue an honestie and puritie of conscience, they are chaste, they loue their neighbour perfectlie, and pardon with all their heart suche as doe offende them. They retire themselues from the things of this worlde, and abandon the pompes and ambitions of the same, as though they were vnapt therevnto, and had no mindes affected to such transitorie vanities: for, they are made new men, restored & raised againe by the son of God, who hath triumphed both ouer death and all deade things: and so are they made his that hath raised them, to serue him with new fruites which their new life brings forth, they feare not to suffer death to maintaine that which God hath ordained: they care neither for reproche nor hunger to defend iustice and truth. For their new life keepes them from smelling of those things which might hinder their faith, perseuerance, and constancie of heart in the traine of the Gospell, and ioynes vnto them a certaintie of a better life which assureth them of all things.

Of the contrarie, suche as be estranged from this practise, haue no other thing but the simple name of those that are raised againe. They are as painted sepulchres set out to the shew, without & within containing nothing but rottēnesse & corruptiō. Such were the Phariseis with whō they haue only the title of life and liuely, & in effect are nothing else than deads, rotten, and corrupt, reteining that stinke and lothsomnes which is wont to be aboute dead bodie. Such be many of our Christians, who vnder this name, hide a pride & arrogancie which the Diuel teacheth them, instructing them withall to be conetous and impatient, the more to make them sauour of their stinke and filthinesse. Lastly, those

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those be they that haue not chaunged no2 castte their skinne, and who being not mortified, can not be raised againe. For, resurrection presupposeth death, as there can be no death but there muste be first a life, wherewith I end the exposition of this article, yielding thanks for al things to God, whom I beseech to continue his people in that proportion of faith whiche he thinkes necessarie to their saluation.

Certaine testimonies of Pagan Authors seruing to
 approue Christian religion, written in
 forme of a letter to a No-
 ble man.



According to your request I haue sente you here with my opinion, though not so liberally as you looked for, yet with that faith & industrie as may verie wel serue to satisfie your conscience: & leaue me acquitted of my promise, esteeming it to appertain to me to instruct you, seeing of your selfe you expresse such desire to knowe and learne. And albe it the matter it selfe drawing manye circumstances, requires a long time: yet, where things are debated faithfully, and the resolution accepted diligently, that which is long seemes not tedious, and though it be little yet it may be ynoughe for instruction, beseeching you to weigh my reasons whiche I haue not drawne out of dreames, but written them out of the best resolutions & agreements of my booke.

The vertue of Christian religion is so great, the miracles that haue confirmed it haue bene so publike & euident, & the innocencie & holines of life of suche as haue professed it haue bene so cleare & manifest, that the verie enemies haue bene diuen to beare testimonie with it, notwithstanding y they impugned it with al their industrie. Yea, it is a thing wonderfull, and seruing sufficientlie to

to declare that our religion is guided by the hand of God, that besides the large and greates testimonies annexed to the Gospell it selfe, yet the aduersaries beare with it such witnesse and authoritie to the dishonour of Satan and his errors, that by their owne confession we see, that the cause why they remaine in their hardnesse of hart, without receiuing the light and waye that leades to eternal life, hath proceeded of their sinnes and blindnesse, making them subiect to the subtile suggestions and pollicies of the Diuel: wherein for a proofe, I shall not so much neede to inferre authorities of scripture and olde Christian authours (who notwithstanding are sufficient to verifie and confirme our faith:) as to take to mine aide the weapons of our enemies, to the ende that by the testimonie of their proper consciences, we may remaine absolved, and they condemned:

The first testimonie I produce shall be Tertullian a writer in in the time of the primatiue Church, a man of great knowledge, maintaining the cause of the Christians against the Pagans, and pleading and writing publikely on the Christians side: and having (as it were) but sipped and tasted of Christianitie, he hadde more fully surfeited of the Pagan faith, to whome he bare a resolute zeale: he was in the times of the Emperours Severus and Caracalla, being about two hundred thre score and tenne yeares after the death of Christ. All the argumentes whiche he inferreth against the Pagans he derieth from their proper histories, and of thinges that were done in that time; shewing the reason why Christ was not worshipped at Rome. The Romaines hadde this custome, not to canonize any new God (although the Emperour would haue it so) without the approbation and consent of the Senate, the same well appearing in all the Romaine edictes and histories, wherein is defended to receiue anye straunge God without the authoritie of the Senate, and that by reason of the greates inconueniencies happening by the libertie that euerie one tooke to patronize himselfe with one God aparte, as maye be scene in the times of the Bacchanales and other seasons.

It happened that Pilate who had giue sentence of death against Christ, notwithstanding he was stubberne in his opinion, yet being conuained both by his conscience, and the certaintie he had

of the restitution of him whom he had condemned to death, aduertised Tiberius the Emperour of all that had passed, touching the death and resurrection of our Lorde. The Emperour obseruing with this report, the opinions and greate renoune that went of his passion, wrote to the Senate, that it were good to canonize Iesus Christ for a God. But the Senate, whether it was for that they were not called to the first consult of this matter: or that they would not make things so easie to the Emperour, especiall ye in a case of so great importaunce, fearing it would growe to example and consequence, helde opinion contrarie to the Emperour, and would not suffer that Christe should be worshipped as God. Wherevpon the Emperour published an Edicte againste such as would accuse Christians, the Diuell hauing then stirred by the Iewes and Gentiles to persecute those that had receiued the gospell: by whiche it came to passe, that in the time of Tiberius the Christian Church was somewhat in rest, the Gospell fructifying greatly amongst the Gentiles.

Thus much for Tertullian, who durst not haue written so in his time, if things had passed other wayes. For then was Rome in byzestate, and Statutes of the Senate were diligentl ye preserved by registers, wherunto Tertullian sends y Gentiles, referring them to their proper actes and ordinaunces, wherein they may finde y the first persecution against the Christians was in the raigne of Nero. In all these are ministred many things of consideration, declaring that the affaires of the Gospell haue bene managed by a special prouidence of God. For first, God so wrought that Pontius Pilate who had passed Christ to execution, bare witness to his farther of the greatnesse of him whom he had condemned. Secondl ye the lawes of the Senate, and contention that was betwene the Emperour and the Magistrates, make good faith and proufe, that the refusing to canonize Christ at Rome, was not by any faulte that was founde in him, but by reason of the vaine ordinaunces obserued there, by the libertie of which they had power to accepte for Gods such as they would, and reiect whom they held not acceptable. Besides, the great prouidence of God is knowen in this, that the diuinitie of Iesus Christe being sufficientl ye iustified as wel by his woorks as by his holy doctrine, yea by the testimonies of

of his enemies : yet he woulde not suffer him to receiue this dishonour to be accepted of the people of *Rome* for God, and muche lesse to be compared and placed amongst their false gods whome they worshipped, he which was true God, and had preached that there was but one God, and that all others were nothing but abusers and spirites of the Diuel. This prouidence also shewed it selfe greate in this, that albeit the Emperour was no Christian, yet he sorbad vpon great paines to trouble, persecute, or to accuse the Christians: the same being the cause that the Gospel was published in his first age, and that the Gentiles and Pagans gaue eare to it, to the ende that when the great persecutions shoulde happen, the Church mighte be founde to haue some foundation, and certaine troupes of Christians vnited by the holpe worde of the Gospel. And therefore we haue to conclude, that all these things & accidentes haue bene guided and gouerned by the wisdom of God, seeing they serue to the approbation of so highe a mysterie. For our seconde testimonie we will vse Plutarch a Pagan borne, and of no small authoritie amongst them, and at no time wel disposed to the Christians. He thinking to set downe a reason why the Oracles of the Gentiles had taken end, alleaging many things according to his blindnesse, and without anye knowledge in the affaires of God, recits an historie by the relation of a friend of his of no smal authoritie & knowledge as is suggested. To this was referred so much the more stabilitie of faith and credite, by howe much he makes it to happen in his time.

He sayth that sayling into *Italie*, and being in a shippe accompanied with his saide friend and many others, about the euening they fel within the coast of certaine Islands now called *Cuzolares* confining vpon *Italie*. Where the winde sayled them, and by that necessitie were driuen to go on shoare in one of those Islands called *Pasione*. Before the mariners had supped (the sea being at a softe and still calme) they hearde a voyce comming out of the Island whiche called one of the patrones of their shippes, being an *Aegyptian* and had to name *Tamus*: which was vnknewen to manye of the company, sufficing to see him a Captaine and gouernour amongst them. This voyce calling him thre times, he answered but to the thirde, asking what it woulde: to whome the

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the voice replied aloude in these wordes : O Tamus, when thou shalt arrive at Salus (neere to the Isle of Corfu) tel them that their great God Pan is dead. Al the people fel into great feare and trouble of minde with the sound of the voyce, & consulting what was to be done, Tamus, to whom was committed the confidence of the message, resolved, that if the winde served, he would passe by the place assigned by the voyce, without saying any thing, giving no other credite to it than as a vision or illuding suggestion : but if the winde failed, then he promised to performe the embassage. According to the which resolution, the wind abating, he was driven to rest at anchor even in the same place. Tamus standing upon the uppermost hatches of the shippe, beganne to crie with a loude voice, The great God Pan is dead. He had no sooner ended his speech, but there were heard generall lamentations, sighes, sorowes, shriekinges, with strange and wonderfull voyces and that in marvellous multitudes. This accident was forthwith carried to the knowledge of Tiberius the Emperour, who raised all possible diligences to understande what mighte that God Pan be that they saide was deade, wherein the wisemen and wisardes of that time, answered him according to their superstitions & vaine coniectures. This Pan was a God whiche the Gentiles worshipped, there being many other Gods of that name. And this happened about the time of the passion of Christ, as may be gathered by the yeares of the raigne of Tiberius the Emperour. In deede Pan in Greeke signifieth, All: whereupon many do gather that al this was spoken of the death of Christe, true God and Lord over all things. But because the Gentiles helde Pan for a God, there is good congruencie to take the death of this Pan for the spirituall death of the prince of Devils, for the destruction of his kingdom, and the ruine of his errors by the whiche he hath kept captiue all mankind. To this are conformable the noise and voices of the spirites complayning and lamenting the ruine of their Prince & his spiritual death, being now made naked of the strength and forces wherewith he oppressed and vered mankind. The same authoꝝ affirms, that about the same time, one Demetrius passing by the Isles Orcades neare to Englande, was to be that not long since, there was heard great whispering and howlings in the
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ayre, and many fearfull things seen : the wise men of those Islands construing those prodigious things to the death of some gret God, which opinion hath some refference with the iudgements of the other wonders. But these straunge sightes and significations in the worlde, interprete in true testimonie and iudgement the straungenesse of the death of our sauiour Iesus Christ, and of the victozies which he hath obtained, together with his triumphant glozie.

The third testimony we may draw from Traian the emperor a prince Pagan, & albeit much resolved into paganrie and a greate persecutor of the christians : yet so qualified by the truth of the gospel, that he was constrained to moderate his crueltie, though not so much as he ought, yet so farre as ministered ease vnto the gobleie. Plinius Secundus establishing his deputy in Asia against the Christians, aduertiseth the Emperour that he founde no other ill in the Christians, but that they made certaine assemblies, not to erecte anie Monopolie, no; to commit theft, no; to vse ribauldrie, no; to practise deceit, no; to desire the goods of others, no; to execute any villainous acte : onely the cause that they assembled togither, was to communicate in common and necessarie actions : as to eate and drinke togither offering no hurt or preiudice to any. That which he founde most wicked and ill in them, was, that they were addicted to a certaine superstition, not declaring it, and so concluded, that there was no ill in them. This was the beginning of our christian religion, and yet in that time the professors of it were bitterly persecuted. But notwithstanding they were accused, and suffered imposition of greate crimes, yet when they came to the triall and prowe (no smal matter amongst people Pagane) they were holden so guiltlesse, that even their ennimies gaue testimonie of their innocencie (the Diuel notwithstanding keeping them so blind, that they had no iudgement of that which they did, no; vnderstood what they pursued, and much lesse knewe what they were, whome they caused to die so cruelly.) Plinie founde them not culpable in any thing except a certain superstition, and yet without any apparance of ill. We esteemed it superstition, to beleue that one man dead on the crosse, was the Sauiour of all men, not considering further the groundes of this religion. The assemblies they made, were chiesly to celebrate the sacrament of the Supper, which contained a greater

fer myſterie than Plinie could finde out. But the Emperour hauing this aduertilement from his deputie, forbade any more to enquire againſt Chriſtians, willing notwithstanding, that ſuche of them as were attainted and conuicted, ſhoulde be puniſhed and corrected. Tertullian deriding this edicte, exclaymes againſt it, ſaying: Wh ordinance confuſed and ſolliſh. He forbids inquiſition becauſe they be innocent, and yet leaues libertie to chaſtiſe them as offendours: in one inſtant hee pardoneth, and yet hee is cruell: hee confeſſeth innocencie, and yet diſſembleth it: if he wil puniſh them why defendes hee information againſt them? and if hee will not haue them enquired vpon, why doth hee not abſolue them? There are eſtabliſhed in euery prouince Proconſules to apprehend and impriſon theues and robbers: and euery one hath libertie to kil a publique enimie, and to execute ſuch as the lawe hath conuict of treaſon: but alone touching the Chriſtians, it is not ſuffered that they be liſted as offendours, and yet is it lawefull that euery one accuſe them, as though they be things different to cutte off any one as an offendour, or to preſent him as a malefactor. Wherein this edicte ſuffereth this contrarietie, denying information and enquire againſt the Chriſtians, and yet leaues libertie to puniſh them if they be founde guiltie. For, if no man informe againſt a Chriſtian, how ſhall he be founde guiltie: & in cauſe of reformation, what meane is there to accuſe him, and ſo conſequently to puniſhe him, not finding him culpable of any thing? So that the Emperour woulde that they were puniſhed not as culpable, but only for y they were chriſtians. In al which as may be diſcerned the teſtimonie which y Chriſtians had of their proper enemies, together with the ſimpliſitie of the ſtatutes by whole meane they were persecuted: euen ſo, in all theſe things is matter tending to the aduowning and iuſtification of our iuſtice. The fourth teſtimonie we may drawe out of the doings of Adrian a Prince Pagan and dying in the ſame ſuperſtition, who, vpon the view and conſideration of certaine inhibitions deliuered to him in writing by Quadratus a diſciple of the Apoſtles, and Ariſtides a Philoſopher, conuerſed to chriſtianitie, diſpatched commissioners to his Proconſul of Aſia, in ioyning him not to moleſt the Chriſtians, for that they are and beare the name of Chriſtians. He had not ſure erected this edict, had he not bene wel informed of the innocencie and iuſtice of ſuch as folowed chri

stant religion, and had some doctrine of Quadratus and Aristides
 of the reasons appertaining to the myserie of the Gospell. For he
 deuised to builde temples dedicated to the seruite and worshipping
 of Christe, wherein his counsell restrained him, alleaging that in
 that example woulde be general conuersion to Christianitie. In
 this may be discerned the conscience of his counsellours, who stood
 vpon no other impediments, but a certaine feare that by y^e means
 the multitude woulde come to the knowledge of the truth. These
 temples that he did builde were not subiecte to idolatrie, neyther
 woulde he suffer customes of superstition, being so for those respects
 called the temples of Adrian. Marcus Antonius Aurelius declar-
 ed in fauour of the Christians, that they worshipped the immor-
 tall GOD: he gaue libertie to who woulde be a Christian, and
 forbade expressely that they shoulde be molested. The Emperour
 Alexander Seuerus published a lawe in grace of the Christians,
 that they shoulde not be persecuted, and muche lesse restrained to
 vs^e publike conference and action of their religion: he had hang-
 ing in his Oratorie the Image Of a Crucifix, and deuised to
 build a temple wherein Christ shoulde be worshipped, but he
 suffered many impediments that drew him from it. At this was
 wroughte by Gods prouidence, fores^eeing that the sauiour of the
 world shoulde not be put amongst other false Gods. This Prince
 in all his deuises and speeches had greate familiaritie wth thys
 p^rincipal point of Christian discipline, Not to do to an other that
 which he would not haue done to him selfe: wherein was good
 declaration that his conscience coulde not denie that truth, which
 those men professed that were persecuted of the world. Valerius
 Maximus the Emperour was a greate verer of the Christians,
 yet the truth of the gospell, and the chastisements of God whyche
 he had bitterly felte, made him oftentimes reuoke the streight and
 seuer^e edictes which he had ordeined against the Christians, giuing
 liberty to who woulde professe y^e state and opini^on of Christianitie, &
 they not to be vered by any persecuti^ons. Al these m^en & great p^rinces
 were sworn enemies to y^e religion, & died in their ignorance and
 blindness, whose testimonies are of no final effect against the ene-
 mies of Christe. For, when they ceased to vere and persecute the
 church, & beare fauour to the Christians, it proceeded of none other

motion than of the puritie of religion, and of the iustice and innocencie of those that professed it, together with their constancie in all actes of vertue, bearing withall a settled hatred to all vices. They sawe also the sundrie maruels and prodigious things which were done daily for the reformation of that doctrine, and felt the anger of God and his chastisements thundered vpon such as persecuted the Church. So that it seemes, that in those things was a spirit enforcing those mightie princes to testifie for that doctrine, and beare fauour to it, to the ende that on all sides error and falshood might be driuen away, as being not able to remaine where the lighte of the Gospel should disperse his beames. In that time when the Gospel began to be planted and solwen, and that the name of a Christian was so dearly solde to him that bare it: the prouidence of God raised a meane to remoue the Crosse from the Church, to the ende there were not so oppressed with persecutions, as not to haue leysure to recouer breath, and estones take fresh courage.

This respite was giuen by the meanes to haue conuersation with the Pagans, and yet remained from the Emperour Tiberius, vntil Nero, who was the first that persecuted the primatiue church: yea, this persecution brought greate slaughter to the Christians, euen to the principals of the church, and Christes disciples, hauing brought to perfection their race and course, and accomplished all those things that appertained to their time, and for the which they had bene miraculously preserved. The Emperour Domitian continued this affliction, and by him notwithstanding the goodnesse of God wrought a meane to cease and remoue all those torments, so that by the hate which Domitian bare to the doinges of his predecessor Nero, he with the Senate brake al the statutes and ordinaunces of Nero: by which was ministred to the Church good opportunity to reenter into comfort and courage, bringing some rest to the Gospell, the better to haue it communicated in some suretie, and to plante it with greater power: so that in good vie we and consideration of these affaires and actions, we may discern in these discourses of the christian Church, a wonderful fauour and prouidence of God, seeking on the one side to proue and examine his Church by a rigorous Crosse, shewing hir the traces and steppes of hir Saviour, to the ende to follow him: and on the other side, he exhibited a
fatherlie

fatherly lone and incomprehensible prouidence, making hir truely to see, that neither the furie of the kingdome of sathan, nor the rage of his ministers are sufficient to supplant and rote it out of the world: yea, hauing on hir part the infinite power of God, she shal stand eternally, and yet the world not know the meane howe she is preserued. By this meane also may be discerned how readilie and feruently the ire of God is kindled against the aduersaries of the Gospel, seeing that all the Romaine Emperours which persecuted it, suffered wicked and monstrous ends: as of the contrarie, such as were moderate and temperate, founde fauour with God, and were lesse punished of the worlde, laying them in comparison with Nero, Domitian, and such other like Princes whom the Diuel hel held in his deuotion to persecute the church. By these meanes the p̄imate Church was maintained sometimes in one estate, sometimes in an other, vntil y^e raigne of Iulian the Apostate, who being a Christian in his beginning, was seduced by Libanius Sophista his scholemaster to abandon Christian faith, & restore Paganrie, together with the sacrifices & superstitions which had bene abolished by the light of the Gospel. By these it is wonderfull to see how Christian faith increased, seeing the impediments of persecutions that were raised against it. But much moze are to be wondered at the respites, succours, and comforts which even her proper enemies ministred vnto her, as well appeareth no lesse by the relation of those mightie Princes and Emperours befoze declared, then also by the persecution of this Iulian, in who gods prouidence wrought no lesse benefit and fauour, thā in any of the rest: seeing that notwithstanding, this Prince persecuted the Church with greater art and hate than any of his predecessours: yet God forbare not to raise hir into an estate of great spirituall prosperitie, this tyzant seeing as wel in his life as his death, euident tokens that God was his enemye. For, euen in his time the Gospel was preached and receiued by the grettest part of the world, by which, y^e wisdom and goodnesse of God disclosed manifestly, that that whiche floated and flourished in despite of the industrie, crueltie, and power of the world, was come from heauen, from whence was ministred vnto it all fauour, succour, and ayde.

Golden Epistles.

The original of tyrannie and idolatrie, together with
the punishments of tyrants and idolaters: how
Abraham was chosen chiefe of
the Hebrues.



Your letter, no lesse full of modestie & sweet-
nesse, than replenished with doctrine and
iudgement, brings no small delight to me,
for that to your deepe science already in
things, I finde remayning a zealous desire
yet to knowe more: wherein I can not but
account it to belong to my office, to adde to
your zeale and travell, my faith and dili-
gence, though not able to teach you further, yet, as touching the re-
quest of your letter, to shew my opinion, leaving to be controlled by
that favour and wisdom where with you are wont to measure &
iudge the errors of your friends. But touching the matter, as you
haue to remember that out of the race of Cain, issued Nemroth
the great tyrant, who, by his ambition and pride subdued all men
and nations of his time, enforcing them to live vnder his tribute
and customes: so, there is no doubt but these tyrannous spirits are
most hurtfull to the worlde, and by the scripture reputed as ene-
mies of God. For, their desire to beare rule, makes them breake al
order of iustice, bearing no regard to lawes nor ordinaunces: yea,
in respect to increase and maintaine their principallitie, they geue
sufferaunce to all men to be insolent, with libertie to commit dis-
ordered actions. In the time of Nemroth were many possessed with
this wicked spirite of pride and ambition, who assembling togi-
ther, conspired to builde a tower of incomparable rate of height &
measure, to the ende to perpetuate their name and reputation a-
mongst men. But God, beholding their arrogant intentions, and
willing to manifest the wickednesse of that tyrannie, and presump-
tion of that pride breeding so many miseries and evils let fall bys
anger vpon them, confounding in such sort the tongues of the builders
and workemen, y^e sue vnder stood not another, since they all spake
vnknowne and straunge languages. Afore the foundation of the
tower of Babylon, there was but one language in al the worlde, god
then

then inflicting vpon the earth a wonderfull punishment by y^e confuſion and diuerſitie of ſpeeches. But thus it hapned that the firſt men hauing but liued vnder the vſe and knowledge of one tong, & now being in confuſion and diuided into manye, diſperſed themſelues thzough y^e world, by whole poſterities haue bene cōtinued at thoſe diuerſities of languages that now raigne. This diuiſion of tonges was the cauſe that the tower of Babylon was not ended, by which occaſion alſo, the Princes of the earth leauing the tyrannie, were diuſen to ſearch new countries to inhabite, euerie one following his language as an enſigne, vnder the which they might plāt and multiply. By this diuiſion of men and countries, people ſel in, to ſo great errors, that forgetting the doctrine of god, together with the promiſes he had made to men, y^e moſt part of the world became idolaters; declining to ſuch ſuperſtitious as the Diuell inuented dayly to aduance his purpoſes. So that idolatrie tooke his beginning of infidelitie, and the wicked inclinations of men, delighting to leaue the right way and to follow that that leades to perdition. To this was much helping the forgetfulneſſe of the truth, and the negligence of men caring not to follow religion and doctrine, and muche leſſe to teache it to others. An other originall or fountaine ſprings of the loue of our ſelues, called Selſe-loue, together with an inſatiable wil which mē haue put themſelues in libertie, inducing them faithfully to ſearch a thouſand wayes for their ſatiſſaction, & by ſome mean inuent abhominable ſuperſtitious, wher vnto the diuel is ſo readie to miniſter aſſiſtaunce, with all the arte and fauour he cā, y^e poore ſinners, to make them the moze hardened & deſperate, firing vpon certain falſe & deceitful experiences, attribute in y^e end, dignitie to anye thing, of the whiche (according to their coiecture) they had receyued aide or anſwere. In other places, they haue a certain feare in their conſciences, which reſtraines them to demaund of god the things which theſelues eſteeme to be wicked & diſhoneſt. But that it comes to paſſe, that they are pleaſed with the ſerue of theſe falſe Gods, who care not but only to be ſerued as Gods, without regarding whether the men be iuſt or vnrighfull. For ſeing theſe diſſembled Gods be diuels in deed, & paſſible to al actions and counſels of diuels, they are of cōmon cōgruencie, enemies of iuſtice, & friends to wickedneſſe, thoſe be the preparations y^e the diuel fin-

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both in the heartes of suche as he hath inchaunted, abusing them with perdition, that there is a god of battels, and an other of robberies, a god of drunkennesse, and an other of whoredome, all these gods being moste delighted with suche as moste are given to dishonest actes, Infidelitie also (the roote of all finnes) was one cause those miserable people were ignorant of the greatnesse and power of God: yea, they coulde not be brought to beleue that one god was sufficient to form the particularly all things necessarie to the use of men, and seruice of the worlde. Of this came the pluralitie of gods, men beleuing that they were restrained to precincte and limit, and that euerie God had his particular estate to govern. Of whiche sprang the first idolatrie: for some worshipped the sun, with many other trifling and dishonest thinges: and others diode worshippe to diuells, which abused them by illusions and ozacles: yea, sometimes by certaine appearances of remedies tending not withstanding to their ruine. This blindness was suffered by the iustice of God to punish the suche, as leauing the light, runne after darkenesse, making themselves iudges of their proper affections, and ruled their heartes according to the same, howe good or euill soeuer they were: in whiche respect God willing to punish the such vices and excesses, suffered the diuell to raise false signes and miracles, euen to aduancee the destruction of suche as fell into spoyle by their infidelitie and multitude of their transgressions.

And albeit idolatrie was great before flood, & that the worlde pursued alwayes his first corruption, being stirred up by the diuell, who induced men to a forgetfulnesse of God: yet the mercie of God, who had not forgotten his promises made to mankind, so provided for the effect of his promise, that he chose a people particular to reestablish with him the truth of his promise and alliances: to them he gaue a perfecte light to guide them againste those darkeneses and obstinacies, which the diuell raised against them, he established lawes and ordinances touching the true seruice of religion, with expresse commandement that they obserue them, and be attentiu to the worde of God the better to arme them against the subtilties, suggestions, and illusions of the diuell. So that there is (no doubt) but this people was chosen to be a graine, wherein shoulde be preserved the puritie of the seede of the doctrine & the assurance of the mercie

mercie of God, seruing withall to declare how wonderful **GOD** is in his workes, and to remaine as a mirroꝝ to all nations to serue and honoꝝ but one **GOD**, confounding all other Gods, as false and of the Diuel. In effect, God saw good to continue y^e rote and stocke of his truth to his people whom he had chosen, to the end the world might knowe that he due to him his people by o^rther meanes than did the diuell, with whom it hath bene always familiar to laye snares and subtile traps to intice the frailtie of men.ouer this people of God Abraham was chosen chiefe and leader as afoze him were appointed Seth & Noc: but Abraham being a Chalde and liuing amongst an idolatrous nation, God saw good to make a choyce of him and cal him to him selfe, commaunding him to abandon his countrey and kinred, and go whether he would guide him, promising to make him gret, yea, euen a mightie ruler ouer a large people. All this containes as yet nothing but mysteries of the diuine wisdom and workes of iustice and mercie. foz first, God choosed foz chiestaine of his people, a man who may serue foz example to all posterities succeding him, foz faith, loue, obedience, truth, iustice, patience, charitie, knowledge of sinne, and lastly foz al, what so euer may concerne the honour and glorie of God, and his seruice. He was called of God to serue as an example to his new people, and all others, and in whome God would expresse with what fauour, support, and ayde, he follo weth those that serue and honour him. To him all Princes and principall guides of people, oughte to confirme and referre their counsels and actions, foz God loues such as be as he was. But now to returne to Abraham. God commaunded him to forsake his countrey and the religion of the *Chaldeis*: Wherein first of all he shewed howe hatefull that people was to him foz renouncing his word, yea, the more fully to punish them, he toke from them the companie of a personage which had knowledge of this diuinitie and truth of his word. This is it that the prophet meanes, saying: We haue ministred medicines to Babylon, and yet she hath receiued no cure, and after we haue abandoned hir euerie one &c. Euen so the obstinacie of the *Chaldeis* against the doctrine of Abraham deserued to be forsaken as a thing abandoned of the Physicians.

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Secondly it may be saide that Abraham was withdrawne from his countrey for that for the most part God beares vnto his suchs proportion of fauour, that hee withdrawes them from ill companies, and consequentlie from the punishments and corrections whiche he holdes readie to thunder vpon the heades of the wicked. By that meanes he dꝛue Lot out of Sodom, and pꝛeserued Helias in the time of famine, shewing in them the great care and and speciall pꝛouidence y^e hee hathe ouer those that serue him. Thirdly in this euocation of Abraham is taught howe needefull it is to such as seeke to be of the number of Gods people, to be deuoided and drawne from vices, and that they fire not vpon the abuses of this worlde, seeing they ought to be a people separate, and subiect to no communitie or trafficke with sinners, and idolaters. For that cause the Scripture calleth the children of God banished and separate from all men. Esay also exhorteth the faithfull to retyꝛe from the companie of the wicked, but speciallꝛe suche as are Gods seruants and sacrificators, ordained to accomplishe the statutes and commaundements of God. Abraham issued out of the region of the *Chaldeis*, vpon the assurance of Gods promises, to make him a guide and leader of a mightie people, and withall to purchase suche renoune and fauour, that who blessed that people should be blessed, and who accursed them should partake wyth the same, and that out of his seede should issue he that should bring felicitie and blessing to all the nations and kindreds of the earthe. This promise is a reuiuing of that which had bene made to Adam and Heu, whersof the certeintie sames to be so much the more greate, by how much God assigneth the seede out of the which should issue the Messias and saviour of the world. By this may be considered the greate rewarde that such may hope for as follow y^e Lord, being called to the obedience of his commaundements, and are withdrawne from the delightes and vanities of the worlde to followe bitter thinges, and of hard digestion. For as God sheweth the fauour he beareth them, choiseth them for his seruice, and aduanceth them aboue all others: so doth he also expresse the particular care he hath ouer his chosen, whom if he aduance on one behalf, he doth also pꝛiuiledge on an other. But notwithstanding all those promises, Abraham forbare not to endure much, and to beare

beare his crosse with much trouble, following alwayes the eternall will, to shewe that the bountie and iustice of God are perfect in all his workes. And albeit he liued in great perplexitie and povertie, and suffered many tribulations and persecutions, yet God deliuered him, and made him prosper, that he was rich, mightie, and victorious ouer his enemies. This is the true image of the way of God and truthe, and to it God calls vs with milke and delights, as nurses vse to intice little children, to the end we knowe that all his wayes are founded vpon mercy and truth, and that he is vp:ight in his word to the iust, leauing vs to followe him by y^e waye, and obey him as knowing his will to be readie inclined to our health and benefit, the same being the true ende and purpose for the whiche he hath chosen to serue his turne of vs. Touching the crosse and persecution which Abraham suffered, they were necessarie to his felicitie. For God bleseth to proue our faith, to shew by effect what loue we beare him, and what patience and charitie we haue, shewing withall howe muche the worlde is our enemy, declaring it selfe for such one in all his actions, and that God only hath created and redæmed vs, and only ministreth al fauour to vs to the ende we should call him to our ayde in our necessities, and confesse him, wherby the remorse and feeling we haue of his mercy may inflame vs to yelde him thanks: and that our faith being tryed by the fire of tribulation & temptation the vertue of our patience maye increase and our hope growe stronger dayly to resist sinne and the worlde, vnder assuraunce and confidence of the bountie of God.

Persecutions are necessarie for our felicitie

So that Abraham, a man iust, was led in these accidents, sometimes in glorie, and sometimes in tribulation: by the contemplation of whose life, all Christians may knowe how God handleth his chosen, and of what condition he will choose them, and wyth what courage hee will haue them learne to worshippinge him. Abraham issuing out of the lande of the Chaldeis, led with him Sara his wife, and Loth his nephue, together with all their familie that was in Haram instructed in the truth of God, according to the relations that had bene made to their predecessours: and from thence hee wente into the region of Chanaan, following the ordinance of God. The Chanaanites were idolaters, and a nation

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nation more dedicated to vices than any climate of the world. By which meanes Abraham leauing one country whose people were nothing worthe, was led into an other, where the inhabitants were worse, and all this by the will and ordinance of G D D, whose mercie doeth in such sorte dispose his actions, that what he takes from some by iustice, he giues to others by his mercie: in such sort that the end of his workes is alwayes good, although the wisdomie of the world esteeme it contrarie.

This was one singular y^e amongst other wicked things which the Chaldeis had, that being blessed with the presence and industrie of a vertuous personage, preaching and teaching them the truth: yet they made no account of his doctrine, but despised hym and his aduertisements: and therfore God depriued them of that benefit, wherof they had made themselves vnworthie, by the resistance which they shewed against his word.

Touching the *Chanaanites*, as they were the moste wicked race of the worlde, so they hadde not as yet the knowledge of the truth: in which respect it pleased the goodnesse of god to communicate it to them, by the meane of Abraham, whom he led into their countrey: which benefite turned after wardes to their greate condemnation, by reason of their renoults, stubbernesse, and obstinacie, by the which they prouoked the ire of God against them. Of the contrarie, the saythe and patience of Abraham was wel proued amongst this rebellious people, the more to make him seeke his succours in God who had drawen him out of the lande of the *Chaldeis*.

God had determined to giue the lande of *Chanaan* to the people whome he had chosen in his presence, shewing the greatnesse of his mercie towarde such as follow him, to whom he giues land and heritage: and of the contrarie, to shew his ire against sinners by the punishment which he made of the *Chanaanites* & other nations possessing the said land. For this cause willed that Abraham after the passion of many tribulations, shoulde die in that lande, to confirme to him his promise, and to impatronize him of that religion for and in the name of such as shoulde descende of him. And long time after, yea, when it was impossible to men to occupie that land, he gaue that inheritance to the children of Israel, to

to shew that he was iust, and that his promises were certain, So that Abraham being at *Sichem* a town of *Chanaan*, God appeared to him and promised to giue the saide lande to hys seede. There Abraham builded an aulter and did sacrifice, calling vpon the name of the Lord: there he endured great tribulations, in whiche was established assured testimonie of his faith and patience: and on the other side, the Lords goodnes was with him, deliuered him of his troubles, and communicated that which shoulde happen to his people, reniuing the alliaunce made with him: he assured hym that in hys seede all nations shoulde receiue blessing, and promised that he shoulde haue a sonne by Sara his wife being already aged.

Thus the familie of Abraham multiplied from one day to another, which he gouerned by the preaching of the word, and al to entertaine them in the obseruation of Gods commaundementes and in his feare. The Lord then made alliaunce with him as wel in his owne name, as for his successors, containing these capitulations. First that Abraham and his, for following his truth and the obedience of the same, shoulde be his people, and he woulde be their God. That the seede of Abraham shoulde serue him and reape their hope in his promises made to them. That they keepe the Lawes whiche he calleth iustice, whiche he had giuen them. Lastly that he woulde be their God, and protect and defende them in this world, and instruct them in the waye to obtaine the life of the other world, pardoning all their sinnes in fauour and consideration of him which had bene promised for the redemption of mankind, and ordained to surmount the forces of hell, and conquer the Diuel. In signe wherof he ordained that Abraham shoulde be circumcised together with al the male children descending of him and his whole familie, the same seruing as a monument and perpetuall memorie of the alliaunce made betwene God and them, & of the spirituall generation of the seede of Abraham, whome God adopted for his children in the name of him that was promised, by meane of whiche adoption this spirituall people shoulde be a continuall enemye to the olde serpente, and his workes. From that time the people of God more obserued outward ceremonies than they had done. For, besides the sacrifices whiche they made they

they adioyned circumcision, the same seruing them as a marke to declare outwardly the profession of their religion, and that they should worship the onely God which had giuen creation, and had promised redemption of their sinnes.

The Authour aunswereth a congratulation sent to him vppon the gift of a Bishoppricke.

In aduersities rich men must giue remedie, & wise men minister comfort,

Living in the flesh it is hard to suffice the desires of the flesh.

I Have receined your letter, and do refuse the horse you sent mee, not for that he is vnwoorthie, but because I am curious, reseruing such as you are to giue mee good counsell, & my other more wealthie friendes to minister to my wants. For that aduersity is truly bled, which expects his remedie of rich men, and his consolation from suche as are wise. And being in the pension of the prince for so many offices, and now rayled to the commodities of a large bishoppricke, I see not how I can suffer want, nor my friendes to wish me more, since to him that is already satisfied there remaines no necessity of further providence. The wiseman is contented and expretheth no want, but the minde of the foolish is subiect to care & thoughts, neuer being satisfied, though he flow in fulnesse, so that his abundance breeds his extreme pouertie and miserie. What man needeth little that measureth his fill according to the neede of kinde, and not after the rage of couetous. For, the nature of man desireth little, but our opinion is neuer satisfied, yea living in the flesh, it is harde to suffice the desires of the flesh. It is no small perplexitie to a poore man to aske that he wanteth, but it is a greate paine to the rich man to keepe that which he hath too much, seeing to gather riches the rich man is all alone, but to disperse them he hath too much companie. This is one other accident that Fortune brings with it, that who riseth a scote in auctoritie, increaseth most commonly an elne in necessitie: for that now a dayes our chiefeest trauell resteth not so much to furnish our house, as to entertaine

certaine and feede our pompes. And albeit euery one is bound to procure that is necessarie for him yet withall he oughte to take heed, not to affect or aspire to superfluitie: seeing, if pouertie proue the patience of a good man, aboundaunce carrieth light spirits into vaine gloxie and presumption: yea, many there are, who if they had not fulnesse of wealth, they woulde not with such swiftnesse follow vice and sinne, for that riches are readie instrumentes to vanitie, and apt cloakes to couer foule actions. I alote not for all this, that men shoulde be negligent to prouide things necessarie for the vse of this life, seeing the needie man can neuer haue too great contentment. But great is gods godnesse to that mā to whō he hath giuen a competēt hauiour, ynough to keepe him frō shameful pouertie: neither suffering wants for the necessarie supplie of his life, nor yet wallowing in that aboundaunce that may lead him to his destruction.

Riches are
readie in-
struments
to vanitie.
The needie
man can ne-
uer haue too
great contē-
ment.

I am tolde (Hy:) of the great pleasure you take, and the many rewardes you haue giuen to the messenger that broughte you the newes of my election to a Bishopprieke: wherein I esteeme your liberalitie much, but consent no whit to the ioy and gladnesse you feele: for that, if you knewe as well as I what charge lyeth vpon the gouernemente of soules, you woulde be more sorie for my insufficiencie, than glad that I haue accepted the dignitie, assuring you that suche is the qualitie of gouernemente of comon weales, and specially that of the Church, that being of many desired, it is of few wel exercised. It belongs to him that gouerneth to be learned, the better to knowe what he doth: wise to finde out howe he oughte to doe it: discrete to attende and take the oportunitie: and resolute in the action of iustice without corruption or feare of any: otherwyse he shall but bring paines to his person, and leaue danger to hys comon weale. All these conditions maye bee of one man desired, but they are hardelye founde to meete in manye. For, to speake in trueth and libertie, there is no man so good, in whom is not some faulte to be corrected, and many imperfections to be remedied. And therefore for one man to call another vertuous without flatterie, it is to giue him the greatest title of the Worlde, seeing it is founde by experience, that

Respects of
a gouernor.

the

the name of vertuous is of many desired, but of very few deserued.

It is not without sorrow to good men, to see manye vaine and glorious mindes now adayes delighted to be honoured, vpon the superscription of letters with these titles. Most high, most mightie, most magnificall, or most reuerend, esteeming it to dishonour, if Most vertuous be put in, and leauing that title, not for a noble man, but for personages of meane estate. To such me I answered, that to call a man Most high, belongs to a king: to be intituled Most mightie, belongs to a Viceroy: to beare the name of Most magnificall, belongs to a man of great estate: and to be witten Righte Reuerend, it behoueth him to be a great Prelate: but to be called Vertuous, it is first requisite that he be good: therefore in the account of reputation, it is more worthie to be called vertuous, than noble or reuerend: for that the one title descendes together with the dignitie, and the other is the rewarde of the vertue which we vse: so that it falls out in good experience, that this title of vertuous is of many desired, and not greatly deserued. I assure you. (Says) I am already so full with the trauel of gouernement, and to be a Bishop, that if, as I haue determined it with reason, I could conclude it with opinion, I would with as good heart refuse the charge, as others would accept it with gladnesse: for that my naturall inclination beares more to seeke out the sweetenesse of Philosophie, than to trauell in the bitter perplexities of policy. In this many wil say I write against my self, for that such vaine worldlings as I am, employ not our skill and studie to search only mediocritie to line by, but to gather superfluities to serue our appetites, following not reason but opinion. And I do know many in this world now adayes, to whom of that little they haue, there would yet remaine something, if they had none to contente but themselves: but their endes tending more to satisfie y^e which their neighbours may say, than to accomplishe things which they are bound to doe: neither the inheritance of their parentes, nor the vse of their friendes can suffice their prodigalitie: and therefore both troublesome, dangerous, and chargeful is the estate of Princes and great Lords: for, that to get riches they are alone, but the diuiding and partition of the same is subiect to the will of

It is more
worthie to
be called
vertuous,
than noble
or reuerend.

many: yea, in that respect they are no other than tributaries and subiectes, since that of all that they possesse, most commonly they haue the vse but of the least part. Wherein Marcus Aurelius writing to a deare friend of his, vseth this discourse. Many times it is agreeable ynough that a man do what he woulde, but neuer is it lawefull to doe that he ought not. For, to make warre against men, is oftentimes glorie, but to be of controuersie with reason is alwayes attributed to follie. There be many rich wise, but those folles, and the greatest folle of all is he, who being at rest in his house, searcheth with diligence elsewhere, troubles, trauels, and perplexities. For, that for the most parte, he reapes no other fruite of the offices and estates which he searcheth abroad, than to suffer continuall paine, care, and grieve at home.

There is no doubt that to be Emperour of Rome, is not a great velle above al the estates of the world: but weighing with his countenance and maiestie, the cares and infelicities that are annexed to the seate, there is farre greater securitie to follooe a private life, than to manage the affayres and trauels of a kingdome. And because (good Pution) thou art so nere me in friendship and opinion, I will debate it frankly with thee, though not so much for that thou desirest to know it: yet because it brings ease to my heart to communicate my fortune, as in al aduersities it is one chiefe comfort when men know the uttermost of their mishappes. But thus was the case. The Emperour Antonius adoynting me to his sonne in lawe, gaue me to wife his daughter, and for a dowrie endued mee with the empire, two things verie honourable, and euen so not a little troublesome: for that to the gouernement of the Empire is tyed great paine and trauaile, and in Faustine my wife is greates difficultie of moderation and modestie. Herein thou hast no reason to maruaile so much of that I write to thee nowe, as to wonder with what discretion I haue so long time suffered it, assuring thee, that the trauailes of the kingdome shorten my life, and the libertie of my wife diminished myne honour. For, she being the daughter of an Emperour, the wife of an Emperour, hauing withal the helpe of riches, beautie, and authoritie, so beares not to lose the priuilege of hir libertie, not as she ought, but as she list: this being a proprietie annexed to most women, rather to desire liberty, than

In aduersities it is one comfort to know the uttermost mishap.

Women rather desire libertie, than know howe to vse it.

that they knowe howe to vse it: and that whiche is worse, the wil neuer suffer reformation of this erroꝝ, without the pꝛejudice of mine honour. So, that in a soyme of life, as this is, and with the scallowship of a wife, such as is Faustine, it had bene better for me to haue taken the state of a labourer, than to haue bene raised to the place of the empire. For that when the reckoning is made, as there is no land so hard which the plough doeth not turne vp, so there is no mā so humble which wil be commaundered. I was neuer so well serued, as when I had but one page, and now that I am emperour, all men cal me seruants, and yet I am made seruant to them al. Wherein thou mayst see a lamentable difference betwene that I was then, and the condition I liue in now: so when I followed the studie of Philosophie, I had contentment of minde, where the pompes of the empire so carrieth me into straunge spirites, that I haue forgot the vertue and science I knewe, and now am trauailed in infirmities which I can not auoyde. When I was a pꝛivate man, al mē held their eyes fixed vpon me, & now y I am a pꝛince, there are few that employe not their tongues against me, the same wel approuing, that as in pꝛinces there is alwayes something to be warned, so in subiects are many things to be corrected. All thys (good Pution) I debate with thee, to the ende, thou oꝛe compassion to my estate pass, and beare pitie to that I am now, hauing neither time to communicate with those friends with whom I haue bene brought vp, nor oportunitie to seeke my solace in the sciēces I haue learned: so, of the one side the cares of the kingdome do carrie mee into thoughts and heauinesse, and on the other side the libertie of my wife leaues me in trouble of conscience.

Thus (sir) touching the congratulation you sent me for the Byshopricke, you are answered by M. Aurelius, by whom you see, it is moze suretie to the man of religion and learning to follow the exercise of studie, than to aspire after gouernement and rule: so that in the one he findes contentment with stabilitie, where the other ministreth nothing but passion, perplexitie, and perpetual subiection to reuolution and change.

There

There are no greater riches than honour, nor pouertie
more intollerable than infamie.

THese be the three things whych aboue all o-
thers holde moste affection in men, & which
euerie man keepes in greatest recommen-
dation: Health of their persons, Plentie of
wealth, and Conuersation of honour and
renowne: all which, as they import not li-
tle to the establishment of our worldly felici-
tie, so to obtayne and keepe them, I neuer
knew any in whom remained a desire & delight in life, who would
not withal passe manye perils to winne them, and suffer no lesse
paines to weare them. To desire things nature inclineth vs, and
no lawe defendes vs, since without Health, without Wealth, and
without Reputation, life is of no other vse to men, than a tree whi-
ch byings forth goodlye broade leaues to shadowe the owner from
sunne and weather, and yeldes no fruite to feede him and his fa-
milie. But of all these three, with all the rest whatsoener, that whi-
che is and ought to be most deare, is the honour we haue, and the
good renoune we haue gotten: since honour only is the true ripens
and effect of vertue, and al other things are the rewards of fortune.
Yea, Honour is so high and pzeious a temper, that without health
& welth it is much worzh, where those two without y loseth theyr
value. What hath that man that hath not honour? and what can be
wanting to him to whom is no lacke of honour? No man in office
can administer well, vnlesse he haue honour: and in a common
weale, what can not that man do who hath reputation and fame?
For, honour being the merite of vertue, and vertue the readie in-
strument to get affection and loue, he is most worzhie of authori-
tie, whose vertue is best proued, and that man beste able to com-
maunde ouer a common weale, to whom the multitude giues opi-
nion, iudgement and estimation of hono^r. The man of hono^r (sayth
Plato) neuer dieth, where he that is infamous and defected oughte
not to liue: wherein he made an example in Thelemon the good,
and Alcibiades the wicked, the one being the glozie of Greece, and
the

Golden Epistles.

the other the scourge and persecution of *Athens*. Better is a good name (saith the wise man) than many riches, and better to haue renoune amongst the good sort, than to be Lord ouer the whole world, there beeing no such riches vnder heauen as to be well thought of amongst men.

But such is the infelicite of mankinde, that much lesse that the counsell of the wiseman is followed, seeing it is not once remembered. For that, what on the right hand and what on the left, what with conscience and what without, men take pleasure to banish honour by little and little from their house, vpon condition notwithstanding to suffer welth and treasure to enter in great aboundance. In cases of marriage, if the woman be vertuous and noble it is holden for no portion, all menne hauing regarde to the value of hir substance, and more embracing a thousande Duckats in golde, than tins thousand good conditions in the partie: yea, we see many maides now a dayes rather chosen for their beantie than married for their vertue. But to those matches God suffereth to happen many crosses, because, who in his choice hath more regard to wealth than to vertue, findeth for the mosse parte that which he feareth, and misseth that he desireth. For, if she be riche, hir pride & stomacke are intollerable: and if she be faire, she wil leade him in suspicion of hir lightnesse: if she be yong and not instructed, hir nature carrieth hir with a swift pace into disobedience and dishonest practises: and if she be olde without vertue, there is no more possibilitie to make hir tractable, than without water to quenebe a flame, whose nature is neuer to cease burning as long as he finds matter to feede his heate. So that to such as enter marriage with those corrupt affections, as there is small merite of pitie or compassion, so most commonly they want no time to repent, nor matter to complaine vpon. Let your light shine afore men (saith Christ to his disciples) meaning, that to the establichment of their credite was necessaris they had god renoune shining by theire sinceritie of life, not only afore God, but euen in the faces of men, the better to warrant their doctrine: for that, as to a good and vertuous life succedes an honest and iust renoune: so, to haue that belueed which is spoken, it importes muche that he haue credite that speaketh it: since in that tale is small suertie of truth, in whose repozter is no

that tale im
ports final
truth whose
reporter is
of no credit.

testimonie of credite. In cases of partialitie and faction, if there be an hundred men against one man of honour, his vertue onely wil carry him to more authoritie in a common weale, than al the strength or subtilty of the others without credit. The whole country of *Egipt* had perished, during the seauen yeres of famine had it not bene for the credite and opinion whiche Ioseph had with Pharaon. Destruction had fallen vpon the Citie of *Hierusalem* by the warres of the Machabeis, with their neighbours, had not the reputation of Mathias the sacrificator ministred succour and safety to the whole common weale. If Helie the prophete had not bene wel thought of wyth the people of *Israel* they had all become idolatours, theyr inclination drawing them vniuersallye thereto. And in the greate captiuitie of *Babylon*, had it not bene for the estimation, credite, and holinesse of life of Daniel, Ezechiel, and the good olde Tobias, many Hebrues had become Gentiles, where by the vertue of those men, many Gentiles were conuerted to the Hebrues. So that in the texts of Iesus Christe and the wiseman, is greate congruencie of reason, seeing that all these vertuous personages brought stay and comfote to their common weales, not by their wealth, or huge treasures, but by their renoune and credite of honour. *Speſtaculum facti ſumus Deo mundo, & hominibus*: The other Apostles & I, saith S. Paule are set as spectacles from whence euery one draweth hys impression, and as whities whereat al men doe shewe, and as guides after whome euery one ought to goe, by whome let the Magistrates and gouernours of the earth learne to knowe what life they shoulde leade, what vertue they shoulde vse, and what credite they ought to haue: for, there is no man how simple so euer he be, who is not moued more wyth the good example he seeth, than with all the swete wordes that can be spoken to hym, since amongst men more doth prouoke to wel doing the action, than the word. And therefore, whether he be king that commaundeth, or prelate that administreth, or magistrate that gouerneth, or preacher that instructeth, let him first labour to win opinion, to yende his doctrine may bring forth good fruite: for otherwise for one that praiseth that he saith, there will be many hundred to blame that he doth, since the affections of menne are more ledde by example, than by persuation or conference. *Cæpit Iesus facere & docere*. Actes. 2.

the redeemer of the world, saith S. Luke, was so aduised in his do-
 ings, and so wonderfull in that he spake, that he remained thirtie
 yeares in recovering gods name, afore he published to the world
 his doctrine. All so liues vertuously, although he speake neuer a
 word, yet he preacheth enough with the example of his life: where
 the euill liuer howe good so euer he be in tong and speeche, defaceth
 his vertues with the infamies of his life: yea his preaching is but
 hypocrisie, and his doctrine but erroꝝ: since such as speake goodlye
 things and do them not, are like to a harpe which giues a sound to
 other and vnderstandeth nothing it selfe. The Turkes, the Iewes, &
 Indians, and Chaldeis, although they differ from vs in sectes & lan-
 guages, yet there is no difference in the desire of honour and good
 renoune, as being innestred in the nature of man to desire to be free,
 and labour to be honoured: so that of all voluble things, there is
 nothing moze deare and precious than credite and renoune: & how
 holy and perfect soeuer a man be, yet may he be subiect to contemn-
 d: reiect the reuerence that men beare him, and the presentes that
 are giuen him: but touching the credite of his person, and reputati-
 on of his good renoune and doctrine, there are none that take plea-
 sure to leaue them, and much lesse will suffer them to decline oꝝ di-
 minishe: so, otherwise there woulde not be many followers of
 their life, and few to imitate their doctrine: since, good examples
 only draw to perfection, and speeche and language be but helpers to
 the same. Yea, if in one man were mette the forces of Samson, the
 wisdome of Solomon, the courage of Caesar, the riches of Cressus,
 the science of Plato, and the constancie of Cato: if, with all these, his
 person stode not in good renoune, and his life commended so good
 example, he were no other thing than a painted fire that gaue no
 heate, oꝝ as a faire visor that couered a soule deformed face. Men of
 honour and vertuous reputation haue many great priuiledges, so
 good men desire to serue them, and ill men are made better by theyꝝ
 example: old men are assured by them, and the yonger sort drawe
 counsell from them: yea, on them are fixed the eyes thoughts, and
 actions of all sortes of people, in whom their vertues haue wonne
 such affection, & if they be detected of any crime, yet it is accounted
 moze to disaduenture than to firme, and being accused of faulte, the
 malice of their aduersarie is sifted, and they cleared by the testimo-
 nie

Good ex-
 amples draw
 more to
 perfection
 than speach.

Commo-
 dities com-
 ming by
 men of ho-
 nor and
 vertue.

nie of their proper innocencie : so, this is holden a rule amongst the multitude, that men of vertue and such as haue feare to erre, beare moze respect to honour, than either to life or goods : so that eyther early or late the lyfe disolueth, and riches must be left, but in true honour and good renoune are layde by our monumentes of perpetuities and fame so long as we liue, and after our death they list vs to immortallitie. Hector of Troy, Achilles of Greece, Hercules of Thebes, and Cæsar of Rome, had their seasons and meanes to determine their life, but to touche or take away their renounes there was no power to time or death : so that euery one of them buried with him his strength, his riches, and his life, but their renounes remayne subiect to no prescription, but as doctrines of perpetuities are closed by, and reserved to serue the ages & posterities to come. Tell vnto my father all my glory (sayth the Patriarche Ioseph to his brethren, the first time he saw them in Aegypt) as if he had said **Go** by my brethren into the countrey of Chanaan, and reioice my father, telling vnto him the great fauour that Pharaos beares me, together with the glory, honour & renoune I haue gotten throughout the lande of Aegypt. He did not recommend vnto his brethren to tell his father that he was on liue, that he was married, or that he had childre, but only that he was sauoured and much honoured, esteeming moze (for our example) a little good renoune, than his wife, his childre, his goods, or his proper life : so that, in the first (being of vertue) is perpetuall stabilitie, where the others being transitorie suffer reuercement and dissolution. When God called Abraham out of his countrey to passe him into the land of promise, he promised to make his name great, and raise his renoune aboue men on the earth : so, my condicion (sayeth God) is not to haue friends if they be not honoured. Wherein we may note that in recompence that Abraham abandoned his countrey, his friends, his goods, and all other his long experienced felicities, yea, being ready liberally to sacrifice his onely sonne : yet God promised him, not pæcencie restitution of riches, nor long life, but onely to giue him honour : a grace not small, coming from the hand of God, and a blessing great to be bestowed on me. For, to whom the Lord giues honour for his person and glory for his soule, there resteth no moze to make that man happie in the world, and muche lesse to trouble

Gen. 42.

Riches to
be got by
industrie, &
fortune to
be gover-
ned by wis-
dome.

Iob. 19.

There is no
losse in thys
life, but the
losse of
good name:

The infam-
ous man
not to bee
trusted.

Psalm. 139.

god wth further desires: since riches are to be got by industrie, & for-
tune to be governed by providence & policie. And since sicknesse &
helly are subiect to natural causes, & short or long life limited by the
wit & resolution of God, what can be more required for the world-
ly glorie of man, than to haue honour and credite, which is a trea-
sure better resolved than riches, and cares not what policie can do
against it. It triumphes aboue fortune, it is not tyed to the desti-
nie of sicknesse, nor subiect to the power of death, but as a thing
not transitorye, it carrieth men to immortalitye, and dyeth not till
heauen and earth come to their accompt. *Spoliasti me gloria mea, &
abstulisti coronam meam de capite meo.* I knowenot (sayeth the holy
man Iob) why the Lorde hath set me vpon the dunghil reple-
nished with this deformitie of botches, the same making straun-
gers to abhorre me, and mine owne people to misknowe mee.
But the thing that I feele with moste bitternesse is, that he hath
taken my crowne from my head, that is my credite, and defaced
my glorie, which is mine honour and renowne. Iob, in hys af-
fliction, losse seauen thousande sheepe, thre thousand camels, five
hundred yoke of oren, and six hundred asses, yet al these tem-
porall spoiles brought not suche grieve vnto him, as the losse of his
renowne and credite: for that in this miserable life, there is nothing
can be called losse, but when we lose good renowne. What hath
that man that hath not honour? What doe we leaue behinde vs, if
we die not with renouwe? Yea, we liue in vaine if our life be infam-
ous, since a man of naughtie reputation being slanderous to
himselfe, cannot but be also hurtfull to others: for, that to such one
the good sort will giue no faith, nor the wicked any obedience, no
man will suffer him as his neighbour, nor any chuse him for his
friende: seeing of that qualitie are infamie and leprosie, that with
their onely conuersation they infect a man. The man infamous
and dishonoured, stands so defaced in confidence and credit, that
no man will trust him, and much lesse to be taken for a publique
witness: wherin sure the law hath great conformitie with reason
seeing it is not conuenient in wisdom, equitie and nature to refer
our goodes & causes to the trust and direction of him, who cannot
keepe his proper hono^r and reputation. *Libera me domine ab homine
malo, & a viro iniquo, &c.* If I haue any part in thee, Oh great God

of

of Israel (saith David) I beseech thee, defende me from him that is not a Christian, and from a Christian euill renounced, since moſte commonly il renoune is accompanied with ill conscience. *Whether* in, if any wil say, it is no generall rule, that infamie and a corrupt conscience are coupled together (for that many are vniustly flandered) it may be confessed, but with this addition, that where the conditions of the ill man are instruments to detect him, the vertues of the good man keep him alwaies from flander. For, vertue is of that force, that forthwith he disclaimeth, & proneth the fault not to be in the abuse of the good mā, but in the enuy that is borne him. *In die illa attenuabitur gloria Iacob, & marcescet pinguedo carnis eius.* Esay speaking of the Synagogue, crieth out: Oh sorrowfull Synagogue, and vnhappie house of Iacob, know thou, that when he shall come into the worlde that is so muche desired of men, thy fatte fleshe shall growe leane, and all thy glorie shall be consumed: because thou haſte bene a rebell againſte thy king, and peruerſed the Lawe. By the fatte fleshe of Israel was meant the Patriarks and Prophets: and the glorie of Iacob was the renoune they had by reason of the scepter and priesthooſe. And yet in place of this fatnesse came feeblenesse and leanenesse, and to this renoune succeeded infamie. For, after the passion of Christ they had no more Prophets, and much lesse gathered honour or renoune, the words of Esay being truly and fully accomplished, for that after the death of Christ the Citie was destroyed, the temple reuerſed, the priesthooſe finished, the scepter confounded, the Lawe expired, and the whole people so dispersed, that euen till this daye, they haue not recovered their honour, nor restored their common weale.

Here it is not without myſterie that the Prophet saide, that altogether their fatnesse shoulde not be consumed, but that their glorie shoulde decline, and their fatnesse become leane: giuing to vnderſtande, that for their greater punishment, God woulde not altogether destroy that people but so appointed that through out the worlde, and to the ende of the world, they might wander in sorrow, feare, captiuitie, pouertie, deſolation, diſhonor, & infamie, neither obseruing law, nor acknowledging any king. By al these let vs be taught, how much we are bound to eſtimate honor, & with what griefe we ought to ſeele the losse of it, ſeeing y^e as God

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giue it of his speciall grace, so also he takes it away oftentimes
for our offences.

The Authour modestly reprehendeth his friende for
not yeelding to his request.



Understand (Mr) that you make no lesse fault
for denying of my request, than I was
shamefast to desire you, whych hath giuen
me some occasion of debate betwixen be-
twixen your authoritie and my iudgement
and your forwardnes and my condition.

The man that doeth ill is but simple
wicked, but he that glorieth in his ill, is
not without a spirit of the diuel. For, as the condition of the Di-
uel is inclined to deceiue, so the nature of the baine and forward
is hardly corrected: & therefore to the glorious and obstinate man
it is in vaine to giue counsel, and much lesse to minister cor-
rection, since where reason yeeldes to selfewill, and sensualitie suffer-
eth no counsel, there the minde is turned into parcialitie, and al-
the senses resolved into faction. I say thus much vpon the occasion
of my request to you, to beare fauour to my friende, to whō much
lesse you ministered any friendshippe, seeing you woulde not once
bouchsafe to bestow an answer to my letter, an iniurie whych
I haue felt rather than published, considering that suche wrongs
as this is, ought either to be thoroughly reuenged, or altogether dis-
sembled.

I am not so much grieued for that I did intreate you, since the
law of nature leaues a libertie for one man to be beholding to an-
other: and amongst friendes, that request ought not to be intol-
erable, which brings as great necessitie to be granted, as reason to
be demanded, and wherein the greatest preiudice is to him that
denyeth it. But touching the wrong you offer to repel me, I will
not inforce it with argument & words, since my hart is not vnar-
med with patience to beare it, esteeming it to be a true effect of my
vertue, to suffer the iniurie, since you make no conscience to offer
it. One of the things wherein Caesar shewed most courage, was, in
that

that he seemed most glad when the Senate had denyed him any thing, affirming that there coulde not be a greater glozie or re-
noune to his person, thā y when he was most importunate to ask,
they were most readie to denie, exprelling his great power to for-
beare that he desired, and their slender reasons to reiect him. The
letter I wrote you contained things indifferent, neither vnmete
to be required, nor worthe to be denyed, perswading you altogi-
ther to beare more respect to my friendship, than remembraunce
to the iniurie my friende hath done you: wherein the grieve hee
published and the request I made, ought sure to worke some im-
pression in you, seeing that he is no other than a tyrante, who is
not appeased by discrete wordes, and mollified by pitiful teares,
that suffising to attonnement betwene man and man, which god
holdeth for acceptable betwene him & sinners. And albeit no man
ought to seeke his reuenge, as by the same he thow himselfe into
destruction yet to hym that is of base condition it is no disho-
nour to reuenge, where to the man of myghte and power,
the most honoꝛ is to pardon: for that in the world, ther is not more
haughtie kinde of reuenge, than to forgive an iniurie by vertue:
notwithstanding I thinke there can be no rule certaine in the ac-
tion of pardoning or reuenging wrongs: for that oftentimes the
offence brings with it that qualitie, that it can not be pardoned
without committing a new fault.

He is a ty-
rant that is
not appea-
sed by tears.

There can
not bee a
more high
reuenge, thā
to forgive
an iniurie.

But the offence of my friend, for whom I wrote, being not of
that condition, deserved to be forgiven in common Christianitie,
and to be dissembled of you bearing a reputation to be discrete,
wise, and not passioned. Suffer your selfe to be sought too, since
euen the greatest Princes are bounde to heare suiters. Dislike not
opportunities, when the necessitie of the part deserues to be piti-
ed, and disdayne not to receiue good counsell, since amongst men
there can be no greater treasure: otherwayes, if you be rigorous,
hard, and obstinate, albeit you may haue the company of manye
neighbours, yet assure your selfe to want the solace that is to bee
looked for in good friendes. And so God giue you that you desire,
and defend you from that you deserue.

A Let-

Golden Epistles.

A lett eraduertising parents, not to be carelesse in the education
of their children, and that a man of honestie and of common
sense ought not to suffer yll resort or
lewde demeanor in his
house.



When Rome floode in hir prosperitie, it was
defended that none shoulde doe sacrifice in
the temple of Minerva, but onely the ma-
trones of the citie. For whiche cause they
use to cover the images of mē, at such time
as the women prepared to their action of
sacrifice. But after wardes their curiosi-
telle was corrupted by the wickednesse of
one Claudius, who watching his opportunitie, defiled y faire ma-
trone Obelina, as he founde hir praying alone: wherein not wylth-
standing he was accused and detected of sacrilege, yet he so solici-
ted for him selfe by cautele and corruption, that for money the
Iudges absolued him, being promised withall by his industrie to
possesse in that sort and place the sayrest Ladies in Rome, whiche
accordingly he perfozmed: so that this wretched Claudius, not sa-
tisfied with his proper sinne, laboured to giue meane of offence to
others: wherein he brought more flaunder to the Romanes for the
practises he made, than for his proper transgression: for that the
one was a fault of nature, and the other a wickednesse of corrup-
tion. By these I wish you to be aduertised and rebuked, that in
your house your childezen are not only dishonest, but couerts also
to the vices of others, which cannot be without their great faulte,
and your iust infamie: for that in the vices of the children is due
cause of imputation to the parents. If you know it and dissemble
it, your offence is the greater: and if it be not yet come to your
knowledge, it turnes to your more negligence and chalenge: for
that the wise and honest man ought to keepe more account of the
honoure of his house, than of the monie of his coffers, since mo-
nie may be redeemed with monie, but the spot in a house can not
be repurged with all the treasures in a kingdome. The great
sa

For the vi-
ces of the
childe the
father deser-
ueth rebuke

ſacrificator: Helie was not puniſhed ſo much for the ſinnes of him ſelf, as for that he diſſembled the vices of his children: which was iuſtly layde vpon him: ſo that the father carefull for the vertue & inſtruction of his children, ought to feede their infantie with doctrine, and frame their youth with diſcipline.

Haue regard to your honour, and watch over your ſlocke. Correct your familie, and abolish from your houſe infamie, leaſt you deſerue to be accused of all, and of none worthie to be excuſed: aſſuring you that as a man of reaſon ought not to be called wiſe, ſo long as he ſuffereth his ſonne to liue in vices: ſo if you apply not the medicine in time, the diſeaſe of your infamie will grow incurable, and as a canker ſpread through your whole poſteritie. It can not be denied but inclinations much hurt yong people: ſuch ſo I holde it the greater yll, not to haunte good and vertuous companies, for that a wicked inclination maye be reſiſted, but an yll cuſtome is ſeldome ſo gotten, ſince there is nothing takes in vs more deeper impreſſion, than the things wherewith we haue continuall familiaritie: ſo that the father that will well gouerne his child, ought to holde him ſhort, and cut off the libertie of his fancie, ſeeing that youth is not ſo tender to reſiſt vices, as moſt hard and incapable to receiue counſell. Many and many be the faultes which men commit in this world, whole puniſhments God tranſfers to others, except the offence of the father for the yll inſtitution of his child, whole abuſes & errors reſolue oftentimes to a ſcourge of the father for his negligence. For, how many vices the father hath ſuffered in the ſonne in his youth, ſo many ſorowes ſhall afflict his olde age, as a due iuſtice for that he was careleſſe.

There is no honeſt man hath a more cruell enemy, than that poore father who ſuffereth in his houſe diſſolute children: for that where the hurtes we haue by our enemies are cauſes to decreaſe our goods, the vices of our children bring loſſe and ſpoyle to our honour. And where it may happen that an honeſt man maye not receiue a blowe of his enemy once in his life, the enormities of his owne children are ſufficiente to make him die euerie houre. So that the perplexities we haue ſometimes by ſtraungers, are digeſted as things happening by ſtraungers, as the wounde that

The father
ought not
to ſuffer his
children to
be diſſolute.

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that is outward may griene, but not perishe the entrailes: but the displeasures passing in our house pearce deeper, and as a martyr languishe the heart euen vnto death: and therfore, by howe much the father beareth pity to his wicked sonne, by so much he vseth extreme crueltie against him selfe: yea, that day wherein he ministreth not correction to his sonne, that day doth he iustice of his proper person, and sends his renoune to question. The Romans had a law called *Falsidia*, by which the first offence of the child was pardoned, the second punished, and for the third he was banished: which law if it wer estsones reduced to practise in these times, we should not see so manye youth runne headlong into vices, nor so many fathers suffer blame for their negligence: but because fathers do not chastise, and mothers too much suffer, the child takes boldnes in vice, leauing to the parents occasion to lament, but no libertie of remedie.

He only is
old that
puts end to
his old cor-
ruptions.

Where you write to me that you are olde, and that your infirmities make you wearie, as though you liued too long: I wish you not to reckon your age so much by the number of yeares you haue liued, as by the many trauels you haue endured: for that to sensuality, to liue a hundred yeares seemes but a short time, and to the heart that is heauie and sorrowful, the life of a hundred moments is too long and wearie. It must not suffice you to seeme to be olde, but you must be so in dede, seeing he only may be called olde who puts end to his old vices. For litle doth it profit to haue your head gray and your face wrinkled, if your life follow yong customes & your minde sette vpon Greene desires, the same being the cause why old men weakened with vice and sinne, are subiect to feare death and to dye soone, being with nothing so yll contented, as to be diuided from their vices.

The

The authour writeth to his sister seruing in court: partly he instructes hir how to liue in courte, and partly e satisfieth hir request vnder a short description of loue.

Vigging with the nature of þ place where you are, the qualitie of the affection I beare to you, I doubt whether it were better to vse plainesse according to good meaning, or dissemble, and so leaue you better contented. For, by the office of nature I can not but warne you, and yet to the place where you are, nothing is lesse acceptable than to be instructed: þ court being a place that sometimes couereth or seeth not the faults in their friends, or else takes al things to blame and findes nothing in their foes that they may like. But being my sister, I wil vse mine authozitie, though not to please you, yet to perswade you and acquite my selfe, being farre from my profession to deale in matters of loue, I that haue vnderaken the direction of consciences. And albeit my other trauels and priuate exercise make me verie insufficente to debate with you to your satisfaction, yet taking the oportunitie as it is, I had rather put my imperfection vpon iudgement, than leaue you not instructed, hoping you wil no lesse answere for mine honoz, than for your sake you se me ready to hazarde it to question. Where you write to me that he þ presented you with your last iewel was your friende and louer, I denie it, since there is difference betwene him that loues, and one that is a friende. For a friend doth alwayes loue, but he that loues is not alwayes a friende: whiche maye be well proued in your Ladies of the courte: for that in seruice and amorous deuotion you haue manye that serue you, followe you, and desire you, who may rather be called your louers than your friendes, since they intend no other thing than the practise of pleasure, being as boide of intent of marriage as they are of vertue: yea, hauing not the spirit to iudge of honest loue, nor true intention to folloow it, they bying oftentimes dishonoz to their Ladies, whose

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simplicitie for the most part falls into slander by the subtiltie and malice of their seruants. Such one I feare is he that hath bestowed the iewel vpon you, which then you may best discerne, when you finde him to promise much and performe little, assuring you that then he sleeth & sleight of the fowler, who with a swete cal brings the byrd to net and deceiues hir to hir destruction. Consider therefore the place where you are, the race that you come of, and what you pretende. The court giues you libertie to doe muche ill, and little instruction to followe that is good: and if you stande not faste vpon those vertues you learned in the house of your father, & place it selfe will infect and chaunge you: since frequentation drawes into one fellowship and societie of estate, things that of themselves are different. Remember also that to such as desire to be vertuous, the house of the Prince is a scholl house for their better instruction, and a place helping to their aduancement: wherein if any miscarrie, the fault may be more in their proper negligence, than in the will of the Prince, since to maydes of honour seruing in court it is a greater aduancement to be married by the fauour & consent of the Prince, than by the patrimonies or portion which their parents can leaue them. I haue oftentimes writte vnto you, that if deuotion and conscience leade some women into religion: vertue, and good name raise others to preferment in Court. Therefore I advise you lay not by great confidence in your beautie, and much lesse presume vpon the greatnesse of your race: for in court, for one gentleman that makes loue to your person, you shal find twentie that spende the whole day to iudge of your liues, since beautie without vertue, and high kinred without good conditions, is no other thing than as a goodly greene tree that flourisheth with leaues and blossomes, and bringeth forth no fruite: or, as a stately carued Image, whiche menne take greate pleasure to beholde, but are grieved when they finde it deade and wythoute qualitie.

You and the other Ladies your companions, would haue me write what loue is, wherein it consisteth, and what be the signes and tokens of true loue, esteeming me a man of studie, and an ancient courtier. This office I might better turne vpon your selues, for that your beauties standing in the eyes of men, leading them

them to sue, to serue, to sollicite, and to loue you, me thinkes it belongeth to you to sette downe the description of loue, and to mee to tell you what sort of it is: saying it is an action due to my place and age, to weepe false, and praye, but to you it appertayneth to daunce, deuise, and trifle. Notwithstanding, as I haue tolde you in shoote, what a friend is, so I will not sticke to fill vpp the rest of your desire, to debate briefly the nature of loue, not that I woulde instructe you, but to warne and aduise you, hoping you wil rather loue as a Christian, than as a Courtier. Wherein I recommend vnto you chiefly to be wise in your words, discret in your actions, secrete in your thoughts, particular in your friendships, modeste in your behauiour, and aboue all, follow the instructions of your owne vertues, and see the example of suche as drawe to vice: yea, haue more regarde to your selfe than to anye other person, since in the end your vertues are sure of their rewarde: so that God will pferre you to marriage, and put into the minde of the Prince to endue you with a worthy portion. Take heede therefore you bee not light in looks, vaine in life, lawlesse of speache, nor a scoffer at men: so that with Ladies of these conditions, men of the Courte take pleasure to deuise, but none will haue fancie to marrie them. So that the beste dowrie to aduance the marriage of a yong Lady is, when she bringeth in hir countenannce myldenesse, in hir speache wisdomie, in hir behauiour modestie, and in hir whole lyfe vertue: so that there is no man, what vaine and light affecti- ons soeuer he haue, but though he take pleasure to sue and serue a faire Ladie, yet in case of marriage, he will seeke out vertue, and reiect beautie. But nowe to our purpose of loue. It is an opinion with you Ladies of the Court, that loue, and to be a lover, consisteth onely to be gay in apparell, to be set out in diuersitie of colours of feathers, to be pensue, to be passioned, to sollicite, to behold and often to entertaine his Lady with discourses of loue: thinges no lesse vaine and light, than mooste farre from the true propertie of loue: seeing of this qualitie is the good and true loue, that to him that hath default of force, it giueth hym strength, and in him that hath it already, it confirms it further: to him that is simple it giues quicknesse of spirite: to him that hath want of courage it giueth boldenesse and stomacke: by it the conuuls man is made liberal,

Warnings
for a Ladye
seruing in
Courte.

What true
loue is.
Loue breedeth manye
vertues.

Golden Epistles.

and it sets open the purse of the niggard: so that in the heart where he is entred, he suffereth no imperfection nor incivilitie: but listes their thoughtes up to high actions, and searching that he is leaust, there are none perceiue what he endureth.

When we cast our eye vpon a thing, there is difference to praise it, and to loue it: so that the thing which we praise and loue not, as soone as it is commended, it is forgotten: but that which we loue truly, we lay vp in the secrete corner of our thoughtes, we plante it in our will, and bring it forth in the fruite of our memorie: it standes alwayes afore our eyes, and our eyes send it downe to the safe keeping of our heart. Lone is best knowne to the heart that loueth, and he of himselfe onely saies when he is content, or discontent, fauoured or not fauoured, suspected or trusted, merrie or sadde, or in dispaire or assured: yea, his passions are not known to others, if his affections be honest, for that he will rather suffer in grieve, than giue cause of offence, esteeming his merite so muche the greater, by how much more his martyrdom is painfull, and his passion so much the more worthe, by how much his intention assureth his hope. To instruct you in the signes of such as loue truly, you must obserue the behauior of the parties when they depart one from another. For it is no other thing the separation of two friends, than to diuide one heart into two moieties the same most commonly appearing at the time of leaue-taking, when in the one is disclosed wante of wordes, and in the other abundance of teares. You shal knowe likewise that loue that is accompanied with fastnesse, when the partie enterpriseth great things, and esteemeth little those of base importaunce, loue alwayes enabling his subiectes to high actions, and rayling their thoughtes to greate purposes: so that the heart that loues, lokes not to be commaunded, but learnes to win merite by pzeuention: he offereth no excuse, but is ready to execute: he is not required to be liberall, but findes out wherein he may be acceptable: he suspects not his maystresse, but takes al to the best: he beleues no report, since he is assured of his vertue: he is not importunate, but makes his hope his felicitie: if she begin but to like, he puts wings to his affection: yea he makes his the image of his thoughts, & lines wholly dedicate to his deuotion: & therefore if he loue dearly, he liues in thought to please, in care to offend,

Properties
in a true
louer.

in desire to suffer, and in feare to disclose, and louing muche he gues much, thinking it no liberalitie if he refuse anye thing, Once if he haue once giuen his wil and consent, it is nothing to giue with al his abilitie and wealth: and being posselt by an other, he muste thinke he hath nothing of his owne. In like sort, the true louer studieth to be circumspect in behauior, esteeming it a stræte felicitie to haue his thoughts & delights priuate: he is modest in countenance the better to blear the eyes of spies, and please the minde of hys maiestie: he is patient to suffer, esteeming him not worthy of reward, vnlesse he indure to the ende. And where true loue is, there wrongs must be bozne, and no words deliuered to the dishonor of his ladye: by whom if any occasion be giuen, yet he must alwayes haue this lesson, that patience is a vertue, and secrete silence doeth best sollicite, since the true trüpet of loue is not the tong y^e speaketh but the hart that sigheth: yea as the tong is restrayned from speaking, but not the heart from louing: so I hold it better to loue with suretie, than to deceiue with sweetenesse, since in the one is the vertue, and brings his reward, and the other being the vice is sure of his punishment. And so (good sister) if any your seruants in court iudge me a louer by this short discourse I haue writtē, I pray you tel them, that being a member of the world, I haue a propertie in worldly actions, and perhaps had bene as worldly as the beste, if philosophie had not byatone me from the world,

To a noble man, in consolation for the death of his daughter in lawe.

His hath bene alwayes a true obseruation from one time to an other, that afoze anye greate chaunge or accidente, there were sozhewed certaine strange and prodigious signes, which as the Gentiles interpreted according to their superstitions, so it belongs to vs Chyistians to take them as aduertisements and warnings: seeing they are messengers and Heraldes of GOD, not to amaze and confounde vs, but to warne and aduise vs,

P. y. he

he delighting more to see our liues amended, than to punish vs according to our faultes, according to that comfortable texe of Dauid, *Castigans castigauit hic dominus, sed morte non tradidit me*: So liberall is the mercie of God my sauour towarde me, (saith he) that albeit he hath threatned to strike me, yet he hath not so much as touched me. But comming somewhat more particularly to your estate and my purpose, that late importunate traile whiche you toke in the marriage of your syster, your greafe and heauie misfortune in the burning of your house and castles, the late disagreement and faction betwene you and your brethren, and this lamentable death of the Marquesse your daughter in lawe, seeme to me to be plagues moste pitifull to heare, and grievous to endure: deseruing no lesse compassion, than the tenne scourges wherewith Aegipt was afflicted, for that the one were thundered vpon a king tyrante, and the other ministred to a Christian knight & her, the plagues of Aegipt were disperfed thozough the whole land, where your griefs are altogether within your heart: by meanes whereof, where you were holden but as a Christian, you are now of a confessor, made a martyre, not so muche for the aduersities that are happened, as for the patience you vse, bearing those crosses according to vertue, and not as a man vnfortunate. If you were persecuted as Noe was of idolaters, or as Ioseph by his brethren, or as the good man Iob by his friends, it could not be but very greuous, though nothing dangerous. For that as in the palace of Princes, who is moste favoured of the Prince, is best esteemed of the people: so in the house of God his preferment is greatest, whom Christ doth most chastise, since to none other ende are the corrections hee giueth vs, than to putte vs in remembrance, and prepare vs to one perfection. God suffered Tobias to be blinde, Susanna to suffer sentence, and Daniel to be imprisoned, not for that he woulde them ill, but to expresse the loue he bare them, this being one propertie in Gods affection, to chastise those that he loueth, and leaue others to their destruction. There is no greater temptation than neuer to be emptied, and no more soer punishmente, than of God neuer to be corrected, since who receiueth no afflictions in this world, beareth a signe, that of God hee is muche forgotten; yea, the perplexities wherewith God visiteth vs, ought rather

Who is not
afflicted
beareth a
signe that
of god hee
is muche
forgotten.

rather to bee called aduertisements, than punishmentes : for that they are disciplines necessarie to our amendements, and not stumbling blockes to make vs fall further.

This made Dauid say, *Omnes finitus tuos induxisti super me :* All the trauels and daungers (oh Lozde) which thou wert wont indifferently to imparte to many, thou hast now reduced and returned vpon mee onely. Iob hauing lost his goods, his cattell, and his children, sayde and demaunded of God, *Hac sit mihi consolatio, vt affligens me dolore, non parcias.* Greater consolation could not the Lozde sende me in this wo:ld, than punishing my faultes, to spare no sorte of sorrowe vpon mee : for that in a calamitie, it is one comfort when men know the utmost of their mishappes, and that they can not bee punished further. *Mibi absit gloriari,* sayth Saint Paule, *Nisi in cruce Domini :* esteeming it no greater glorie, then to endure troubles, as by that meanes to come to communicate with the glorie of Christ. It is good the Lozde lay his hande vpon vs, for that by it we are lead to humilitie, and taught to enter into the consideration of our selues. And the rewarde and recompence that God ministreth to suche as obey and serue him, is, to suffer them to bee trauelled in afflictions, since he knoweth that there is no better passage vnto the eternall glorie and felicities of Heauen, than to beare the Crosse of tribulation here in Earth. For, through exercise of aduersitie men become humble, and being often tried they are the better iustified, as the mettall that passeth through many fieres ysleth more vnto his finenesse and perfection. For my parte (Sir) albeit I haue not the facultie of a Prophet, nor the inspiration of an Apostle, yet I dare assure you, that if in patience you receiue all your perplexities, you shall receiue your rewarde wth others, whome God hath made happie by troubles : being none other thing the tribulation of the iuste, than a warning of our faultes, and an aduertisement of that wee ought to doe. Wherein speaking more particularly, I saye, that to bee sorrowefull for the death of your daughter, you haue reason according to flesh and blond, as wel for the opinion of hir vertue, beantie, age, & kinred, as in regarde of the deere affection you bare hir. But if you consider withal your office toward God, you haue to think: that seing he hath so ordeined, &

Psal. 82.

Iob. 6.

In miserie it is one comfort to know the uttermost of our mishaps.

Through exercise of aduersities men are made humble.

To the most afflictions be but warnings.

The hart
that is new-
ly grieved
takes his
best comfort
whē he hath
time to la-
ment his
losse.

best sacrifice you can offer, is to rest satisfied with his will: not to murmur of that is done, since of necessitie it must be so, nor debate with him why he hath done it, for that in his purposes is greale wisdom, whiche in the ende bringes forth all thinges for our best. You must thinke (saye) it is a voyage that must be perfourmed by vs all, and being a tribute so due, hee is vnthankfull that payeth it with grudging: since for this debt we are taken oute of all debtes, and being cleared of all bandes, we remayne for ever most happily layde vp in the free felicities of God. It was a law amongest the Lydians, that the father burying his sonne was not forthwith comforted till the yeare was past, as thinking it too soon to put consolation to so great sorowes: since the heart that is but newly grieved cannot better be comforted thā to haue time to lament his losse: for that as men in sorowe feele their harmes more grievously, than that at the firste they canne gine place to comforte: so there can be no greater ease in the perplexities of fortune, than when they see others communicate in compassion with them. This I say, for that where you may thinke I haue written this letter too late: you maye withall knowe that I did it rather of industrie, than of forgetfulness: wherein because the experience of the disposition of hartes heauily laden with sorowe, made mee somewhat doubtfull, whether out of hande I should comforte your greene grieues, or deferre them until by time they were more apte to receiue consolation: I thought it not vnecessary to suffer you to waue in your heauinesse, til your teares somewhat ceasing, your heart might be also reduced to capacitie and iudgement.

In cases so resolute as death, men are not to vse desperate sorow, since there is no remedie to reconer the losse, but rather to dissemble the chaunce by discretion, hauing more neede of magnanimitie and great courage to dissemble a misfortune, than to assaile an enemy. So that if your daughter be dead, your complaints are in vayne, since sorow is no remedie to restore her, and in accidents without helpe or hope, necessitie drives me to comfort themselves, vnlesse they thinke it a remedie to their losses to resist the eternall will and prouidence of God. In the mightie Alexander it was harde to iudge whether of these two thinges were moste to bee esteemed, e yther his high fortune, or his great discretion: so that
with

With fortune he subdued kingdomes, and with discretion he suffered and dissembled mishaps. Euen so hauing so well overcome manie perils according to the proportion of your place, wherein as you behaued your selfe as a valiant knight: so in these stormes of nature, flesh, and blond, I wissh you to consider what belongs to the law and modestie of a Christian. Wherein then do you best expresse your selfe a Christian, when for your misfortunes you giue thanks to God, and not complaine of him, taking that is happened not as a punishment in his displeasure, but as a token of his remembrance he hath of you. Take heed the complaint of Ezechiel Ezc. 22. 17 be not meant by you, *Fili hominis, &c.* I haue put the house of Israel (saith he) into a furnace of the captiuitie of Babylon, hoping that being within the fire of tribulation, she would resolue to pure gold, or fine silver: but she is conuerted into leather, leade, brasse, and iron. This is the meaning of the Lord by this figure: that man is conuerted into leade, who being put into the furnace of tribulation can not onelie not be amended, but from one date to another growes worse and worse. That man becomes yron, to whom God hauing sent some small punishment to aduertise him, in place to be amended, he ceaseth not to complaine. He is turned into leather, who outwardly seemes to be of holie life, and when anye tribulation hapneth, he is found an hypocrite. And that man is resolved into brasse, who in condition is intractable, and in conscience negligent. So that with iust cause we may say, that farre greater is the number of such as in tribulations are conuerted into yron, leather, brasse, and leade, than of them that become either golde or silver. God keepe vs from such transmutation, and giue you grace to to make a better profite of your tribulations, giuing thanks to God, and dissembling them afoze men, remembering that the patience of Iob was the cause that God restored him to double of that he had taken from him.

Golden Epistles.

A discourse written to a great Princeſſe, of the
vertues and life of the noble Queene
Zenobia.

Having already ſatiſfied three parts of your
Maieſties letter, there reſtes onely the ſer-
vice of the fourth, containing the life and
vertues of the great Quene zenobia: wher
in as your Maieſties authoritie to com-
maunde is full of vertue, wiſedome and
grauitie, ſo it belongs to me to obey wth
faith, diligence, and trueth, eſteeming it
much to mine honoure, to be commaunded by your maieſtie, in
whom this is no ſmall teſtimonie of vertue, that, albeit having
authoritie to commaunde as a Quene, yet you wil vſe request as
a private perſon, which to your ſervants is no ſmal honoz, and to
your ſelfe no little glorie: ſo, that amongſt other merits of prin-
ceſſes, charitie makes them moſte acceptable afoze G D D,
and familiaritie gathereth greateſt affection with men. And by
reaſon to Princes and great Lords we muſt miniſter our reaſons
by weight, and giue our words by meaſure, I will in the hiſtorie
of zenobia vſe the authoritie of credible writers, hoping it ſhall
not be the leſſe agreeable to your Maieſtie, nor the more un-
plauſible to the reader. And if as the hiſtorians make hir a Gentile, ſhe
had bene a Quene Chriſtian, her lyfe hadde bene no leſſe wor-
thie of imitation, than by hir vertues ſhe hath leſte immortall
praiſe, both for ſubduing moſt parte of the eaſte Empire, and re-
ſiſting the infinit ambition of the Romaines. zenobia then being
the widowe of good Odenatus Prince of Palmerines, and mo-
ther to the natural heire of the kingdome, ſo that hir ſonne was
yet yong, ſhe tooke vppon hir the institution of his youth, and re-
giment of the Empire: wherein finding in hir firſt gouernement,
certaine prouinces to drawe to reuolt, ſhe opened hir treasures,
aſſembled hir forces, and went in perſon into the ſielde, where, in
the age of five and thirtie yeares and widowe being regent of
the

Vertues in
Queene Ze-
nebin.

the whole East empire; she was also captaine generall of the armie, doing such exploits, that hir enemies stood in feare, and all the worlde in wonder of her. Shee was so wise to suggest a plot, that there was neuer found errour in hir counsell, and so resolute to execute, that to her enterprises there seldome followed ill successe: yea, hir expedition preuented the providence of hir enemies, being so; the most part in their triches, before they could thinke of comming. She was so discrete in her wordes, that hauing once spoken she left nothing to replie, but euery one to wonder at hir iudgement, (the maiestie of hir countenance amasing strangers, and much assuring hir own people.) She was so iust of promise, that whatsoener she leuied by loane or credite, there was no other surety required, than the reputation of hir owne worde. She was so liberall, that she neuer gaue lesse, than to suffice the wants of him to whome she gaue and withall to leaue him able to line without necessitie to aske againe. She was milde in case of submission, and seuer where she found obstinacie, conquering the affections of good men by hir clemencie, and abating the pride of rebels by the discipline of hir sworde: by whiche, hir securitie was more in the affections of men, than in their armour or weapons. She was familiar with al sorts, but so particuler in friendship, that there were none knew the secreete of hir counsels, till she saw time to publish them to all. And though she would communicate with many, yet she reapposed in few, so; that being able to controll their counsels, she wou'd not stand subiect to their directions: and sounding them, she remayned iudge of their wittes and opinions. Only she was ambitious, so; that not contente with the title of Regent, she made hir to be called Emperesse, and administering the whole in charge, trauaile & policie, she thought she could not be unworthie of the title, name and dignitie. Shee neuer cared to ride in coache, but tooke pleasure in horses of service, and them could she manage with the best. When she went abroad to see the order of hir camp; shee was alwayes armed and accompanied with garde, hauing onely the name of a woman, and delightes and a will of a valiant captayne; which she perfourmed with such good example, that the Chieftaynes of hir armyes neuer did exployte wherein shee managed not the place

Golden Epistles.

Description
of Zenobia.

of the leader, achieving no lesse with hir hands than even he that did the best: a thing very incredible to one of hir sere, but not impossible to hir vertues and minde. The writers describe hir to be of goodly personage, hir eyes blacke and of quicke motion, hir so: head large and of good aspect, hir mouth little, hir lippes red, her teeth white more by nature than by arte, hir face of complexion perfect white and red, hir stomake raised, and hir witte moste ready and excellent, wherein she was holpen by a deepe knowledge in the Greeke & Latine: yea, in hir personage she bare such estate & maiestie, and in hir countenance such affabilitie and sweetnesse, that, if she were feared by mean of hir severitie, she was estones loved by reason of hir beautie. In all this pompe of beautie, bountie, authoritie, riches & power, she was neuer suspected to be dissolute, nor found affected to vanities, esteeming it to belong to her dignitie of hir place and vertues, to shew no lesse integritie in example, than to be voide of lightnesse in life. Oftentimes hir husbände Odenatus hath ben heard confesse, that after she was once conceived, she would neuer suffer his actual copanie: so: that it brought shame to hir chastitie, holding it to belong to women to marrie more so: the respect of procreatio and children, than to accomplish their pleasures. She did eat but once a day and speake little, which made hir bodie disposed, & hir minde liuely. She could drinke no wine, but was so curious to seeke pleasant waters, that so: the price she might haue provided the most precious wines. As sone as the kings of Egypt and other Princes conspiring, understood of the death of hir husbände, they dispatched embassadours, not so much to visite and comfort hir, as to offer league and confederacie with hir, so redoubted was she by reason of hir rare vertue. Aurelius at that time being chosen Emperour of Rome, made greates provision into Asia to make war vpon Quene Zenobia, being an enterprise not of the lesse importance to the Romaines: wherein he found such smarting effect of hir vertue, and invincible valiancie of hir souldiers, that he saw great difficultie to conquer hir by armes: and therfore assayed the remedie of swete words and promises in this short letter following.

Aurelius Emperour of Rome, and Lord of all Asia to
the honorable Queene zenobia.



Albeit to women standing in disobedience as thou doest, it can not but be vnworthy to minister requests: yet considering clemencie is a vertue nothing inferiour to iustice, I thought good to offer to thee the choise, assuring thee that if thou wilt take the benefite of my mercie, I wil giue honour to thy person and pardon to thy people. Thy gold, thy silver, and thy other treasure remayning in thy palace, shal not be diminished, nor thy selfe diuided frō thy kingdome of Palmyrina, which I giue thee during thy life, and after to be disposed at thy pleasure, vnder this condition, that thou resigne thy other kingdoms and prouinces in Asia, and acknowledge supreamacie in the empire of Rome: and of thy people of Palmyrina I demaunde no other obedience, than as confederates and friends. So that, if vnder these conditions thou wilt dissolue thy campe, thou shalt receiue reconcilment to the obedience of Rome, and retaine certaine me of war sufficiente for the suretie of thy person, and seruice to thy realme. Of thy two sonnes leste by Odenatus thy husbände, thou shalt keepe with thee him whom thou louest best, and sende the other to me, not that I will leade him prisoner, but keepe him as a pawne of thy behauiour. And for the prisoners reteyned on bothe sides, they shall be deliuered in enterchaunge without raunsome. And so I acknowledge thee happie more by fortune than by vertue. This letter bringing no amaze to the minde of zenobia, she gaue present aunswere as followeth.

Aurelius the
Emperour
of Rome
wrieth to
the queene
Zenobia.

zeno-

Zenobia Queene of the Palmyrenes, and Ladie of whole
Asia and the kingdomes thereof, to Aure-
lius emperour of Rome greet-
ing. &c.

The answer
of the
queene Ze-
nobia to the
Emperours
letter.

There can
be no ne-
cessitie of
pardō where
is no fault
committed.



What thou givest to thy selfe the title of Em-
perour of the Romaines, I hold it both iust
and convenient: but to make thee Lord o-
uer the realmes of the East, I say there is
neither reason nor right: since thou art not
ignorant that those kingdomes are due to
me only, the one part descending by right
of progenie, and the other I have wonne by
my prowesse and vertue. Thou sayest that if I yelde obedience
to thee, thou wilt give me recompence of great honour, and ioyne
forgiuenesse to the faults of my people: to the one I say there is no
necessitie of remission, where hath bene no fault committed, nor
in thee is any power to forgive, against whō could be no possibili-
tie of offence. And so, the other, it could not be either honest or iust,
that being as I am, absolute to commaunde over Asia, I should as
private be brought to the service of Rome. Thou offerest to leaue
me possess of the gold, the silver, and my other treasure within my
pallace: wherein I cannot but wonder with what grace thou
canst aspire to dispose the goods of another as thine owne: things
which thine eyes shal not see, nor thy hands touch, so, I hope that
also thou come to be executor of my goods in Asia, I shal make
liberalitie of all thy riches in Rome.

Touching the warre thou hast arreared against me, it is un-
iust alsoe the immortal Gods, and most unreasonable in the rea-
son of men: seeing thou fightest not to resist an iniurie but to in-
uade an innocent: I take armes to repel a wrong, I defende my
right: so I thy coming into Asia is but to ravish I goods of another
where my sword is drawen to keepe innocents from oppression.
Thinke not that the name of the Romaines is terrible to mee,
nor that the face of thy huge host can amaze me: so, if it be in thy
hand

hande to giue the battel, in the Gods is the authoritie to dispose the victorie, and the successe of warres for the most part followeth not the number and courage of the souldiours, but hath regard to the iustice and innocencie of the quarrel. What I attende thee in the field, is no small glorie to me, where thou intuding a widow, reapest nothing but shame. The cause of widowes are protected by the gods, to whom it belongs to abate the pride of the ravisher, and retaine to themselves the reuenge of desolate persons. But if the Gods suffer thee to be victor, and that the furie of thy ambition take away my life and goods, yet in *Rome* it shall be published as it is in *Acha* knowne, that Zenobia is made a sacrifice for the defence of hir patrimonie, & to preserve the honour of hir husband. Therefore cease henceforth to threate, feare, or flatter me, since I am resolute to offer vnder one deuotion, my life and my kyngdome: wherein in doing as much as I am able, I do more than I ought, esteeming it better to leaue a monument of my vertue, than to liue with shame. And if my fortune giue me by into thy hands, the world shall beare me witnesse, that though my bodye be ledde yet my hart shall not be vanquished. To send thee my sonne to lead captiue, with thee to *Rome*, is so farre from his profite, and my reputation, that I holde it necessarie to breake thy request, though in thee was no conscience to make it: for that I heare thy Courte is replenished with many vices, where my palace is furnished with sundrie Philosophers, from whom my children draw doctrine one part of the day, and exercise the knowledge of armes the other part: and so I repose more in my vertue, than thy fortune is able to do for thee. This answer bred suche passion in the mind of the emperour, that within thirtie dayes he forced the citie by assault, and toke the Quene prisoner, whom he led to *Rome*; not with intention to execute hir, but to adorne his triumphe, suffering hir to followe his chariote barefote and chained wpyth hir children: which was a spectacle grievous to many, but of great compassion euen to the ladies of *Rome*, who after the ceremonies of triumph were past, made great reuerence and resort to hir, honoring hir with their seruice and presents of no smal price, thinking the right worthily bestowed, for that in the person of that Quene they iudged were assembled the fidelitie of *Polyxena*, the beauty of

of Helena, the chastitie of Lucretia, the constancy of Penelope, and the knowledge and science of Cornelia. Thus your Maiesty hath the discourse of this noble Quene, in whome the matter that I finde most worthie of compassion, is, that her fortune was not equall to her vertue.

Touching diseases and the discommodities
whiche olde age bringeth.

Is a vertuous dispositiō to yeld compassion to the afflicted, but nature most of all challengeth it of those, who hauing proued an estate of necessitie, haue founde comfort in others. And albeit kinde hath brought forth no manne, without an inclination to infirmities: yet GOD being priuie to the weakenesse of his creatures, hath appointed to euerie calamity his proper cure, and raised one man to minister comfort to an other: which makes me now haue recourse to you, not so much to complaine of my griefes which you were wont to ease, as to lament my olde age which is not to be shifted off. Cicero in his discourse *De senectute*, ministreth great consolations, and speaketh many things in the prayse of old age, but he appointes no remedie, not so that he would not, but because he thought it was incurable. Wherein, speaking for the generalitie of me, I thinke there are none who had not rather haue one remedie, than al his consolations: seeing those comforts which take not away the griefe are improper and vaine, not vnlike to a medicine which is swete to the taste of the patient, but remoues not the paine of his discale. In his argument also of *Tusculane Questions* he goeth about to proue that a wise mā hath no feeling of sorrow and griefe, and if he suffer anye, he hath meane to shake it off by his vertue. But who feels in dede the calamities of olde age, is further pinched than that his wisdom only can cure the, or his vertue auoide them, since old age brings forth nothing but infirmities, grief, and sorrow, no more than the black thorn, who, howsoeuer he is grafted, wil yeld nothing but prickles: so that let old men haue more recourse to medicines to qualisye their aches than

That comfort is vaine that takes not away the griefe.

The fruites of old age are infirmities, griefe and sorowe,

than to philosophers who yeeld nothing but words.

Cicero proues that old age is good, by the Scipions and Metelles and in the persons of Fabius and Crailus, with manye other Romanes at that time in greate honour. But I thinke he medled only with their felicities and prosperities, and touched nothing of the cholers and perplerities whiche trauell such as fall into the last age. Adam was wise and well esteemed, and yet he saue his two childezen one kill another. Noe was iust, and yet in his tyme the world perished and he scoyned of his proper childe. Abraham was a faithfull seruaunt of God, and yet he was diuided from hys countrie, and wandered in paine and pouertie. And Iacob was a great personage, and rich, but his childezen selling him that was most deare to him, made him complaine of the wickednesse of his dayes, being then a hundreth and thirtie yeares. All these were Patriarches, and better fauoured of God, than either Metellus or Fabius and yet there is no doubt but with their greate age, they were passible to tribulations and passions, olde age being no other thing than a vessel, whose liquour being runne out, the caske becomes drie, and withereth. And albeit those good men haue not bene alone in their paines and afflictions (so that it is common to all such as liue long to suffer the diseases that age bringeth :) yet I compare not our trauels in this our life with the temptations of the holy Patriarches and Martyrs, who illumined by the holy Ghost, haue suffered persecutions for the militant Church: so that God did so deale with his seruauntes, was in an other respect, to proue their faith, patience, and constancie, to the ende by theyr example, we mighte haue meane of consozmitie therevnto.

Old age
like a drie
vessel.

But if those peculiar and elect personages haue bene trauelled with the dolours of olde age, muche moze are the perplerities of others, in whom fleshe and nature beare moze dominion, and spirite and grace haue lesse force. The sentence of Iob condemning himselfe to liue little, and that in great anguise, is erected daylye vpon euerie onc of vs, but specially vpon old folkes, whome we see carrie an ordinarie subiection to pouertie, diseases, death of friendes, and parentes, to myseries, infelicities, with many aduersities naturally tied to the affliction of age,

ac

Old age no
other thing
than the
example of
sorrow and
care.

Old men
forward in
wil, but
weake in
action.

It is no
other thing
to comma^d
the body,
than first to
conquer the
affections.
Surfets and
other infir-
mities in
old men.

according to the sentence of Iob. **N**ow old age is no other thing, than the example of sorrowe and care, the effecte of sicknesse and infirmities, the retraite of thoughtes and dolours; the image of calamitie, the spoyle of myrth and solace, the verie figure of hell, and for the rest, nothing but flegme and choler.

But where Cicero pretendes a prayse of olde age, by reason of the temperaunce that is in it, not to be subiect to pleasures wyth other vices of youth: it may be asked him, whether olde men vse this temperaunce for want of will, or for lacke of power? old age for the most part bearing a behemot inclination to things wher vnto the bodie hath least possibilitie of action. And albeit temperance shincs with a cleare light in many olde men of respect: yet we see in most of them, such a drie desire and deuotio to the sports and actions of youth, that being not able to execute their will, yet they declare what they would doe, if there were not infirmities. So that I see not howe that bodie can be temperate, whose minde is not qualified, nor that person to be restrayned, whose appetites are at libertie, seeing it is no other thing to commaunde the body, than first to conquer the affections. Wherefore let it be a shame to an olde man, to haue desire to that, whiche the force and strength of nature denie him to execute. What reckoning of temperaunce is there to be made in olde men? since their stomacks being weak, they are the more subiect to surfet: their mindes fierie, and theyr bodies drie, their substance is nothing but fume: their yeares make them credulous, suspicious, ambitious, malicious, couetous, and forgetful, carrying them withal into euerie passion of nature, and that more by the surie of their age (being a burden intollerable) than that they weigh things according to iustice, order and reason: men in many respectes and at manye times more light in sense and iudgement, than settled in grauitie and counsel, borrowing credite by their yeares, and wanting that experience whiche many yong men haue of lesse continuance. It is an ordinarie speech with many of these olde men, that if they were to beginne againe, and that in their youth they had knowne that whiche the successe of yeres hath brought to them, they would liue after another gouernement, & do other ways than they haue done: so y for one yong man that hath not done that which he oughte, there bee

many olde men that would doe moze if they coulde, so to whom it is proper to shewe a wil aboute the power and possibilitie of their bodies, euen like to a downe Bee, whose sting being shotte yet he flies vp and downe humming, as though he were able to do harme. Cicero in baine prayseth olde age, for his nearenesse to the other perpetuall and happie life, as for the hope they haue to visit the spirits of good men already layde vp in rest: seeing we see all men eschew that iorney, being moze naturall to the creatures of nature to prolong life, than to be officers in that fatall visitation. Yea Cicero himself sought to auoide it, when he was surprisid by his enemies, who compelled him to goe that iourney which he had so much commended, and so little desired. It is in vaine to desire longer life, when we see nothing but present certaintie of death, and yet the greatest care of olde men, is to keepe them from death, and their greatest feare, to fall into his hands: yea, it is this care that deprives them of the residue of the felicities of this life: for that the desires of the flesh are so swete and importunate, that naturally we desire to establish a perpetuall of our being here, though it be contrarie to the eternal ordinance, and impossible to the power of kinde and nature. For, by how much we seeke to make our life long, by so much doe we shorten it: and by how much we thinke it increaseth and aduanceth, by so much doeth it decline and abate, the lyfe of man being none other thing, than as a bubble of water, which swelling wth a wayne winde, vanisheth euen when hee is at his greatest.

The greatest feare that old men haue is to die.

The life of man but a bubble of water.

If an olde man will vse the authoritie of his age, hee is intolerable, and euery one eschueeth him: and of the contrarie, if hee play the yong man, hee is an ill example, and euery one mocketh him. The olde man is to doe no seruice, for that hee hath no power: neither is hee to be serued, for that hee is troublesome and passionate. There is no compassion for yong men, for that to his yeares belongs too great ceremonie, and euen to olde men hee is troublesome, by the very properties and impediments of his age, subiecte to hemming, spitting, coughing, and many other loathsome dispositions. If they be poore, their parentes disdaine them: and being rich, they are thoughte to lye too long for their heires and successours. They spende much and gette little, they speake often and doe

Old age the
consumption
of the life
of man.

Differences
betweene
our old age
and youth.

selfe) markea their conetonsse increaseth with their yeares, which is the greatest corruption that can happen to man. So that I see not by what reason Cicero could so muche commend olde age, being the verie wegges and consumption of the life of man, whome he makes subiect to all diseases: whiche makes me of opinion, that if there be any age in man worthy of prayse, it is moze due to youth than to old age: for that the one is faire, and the other deformed: the one is sounde, and the other diseased: the one disposed, the other forward: the one strong, the other weake. And youth is apt to all exercises, but the delightes of age are resolued into plaintes, passions and dolours: so that, the one being necessarie, and the other intollerable: the one full of grieve, and the other free from passion: I see no particular dignitie due to olde age other than in reuerence, & muche lesse how the consolations of Cicero can minister remedies, since most old men do feele their infirmities with moze grieve and bitterness, than that words only can giue them remedie.

One friend writeth to an other of the rage of enuie
and the nature thereof.

Enuie an
enemie to
vertue.

Enuie a
braunche of
iniurie.



Such is the infirmite of the present season, that men of vertue rising into fauour, finde enuie to hinder their merite, and malice to minister recompence to their painefull deserts: enuie being alwayes such an enemye to vertue, that where it can not oppresse it yet will it lye in wayte to suppress the glorie thereof. There is no felicitie so well assured, nor estate so modest, which is not subiect to the inuasion of enuie: for that enuie being none other thing than a braunche of iniurie, it stirres by the thoughtes to wicked purposes, and armes the hands to actions of iniquitie. The enuious man hath no respect either to the vertue or fortune of anye, but to the good things that are in them, not reioysing so muche in the goods that are his owne, as in the damage and hurte he doeth to others: his office stretchyng
chie-

chiefly to desire that no good thing happen to another : yea, he will not sticke to suffer hurte himselfe, vpon condition to make his neighbour feele moze harme, according to the Poeticall example following.

Iuppiter disposed to suruey the estate of the worlde, sente downe for that purpose one of his Angels disguised in the forme of a man, whome he ordeined to fall first into fellowship with two men, travellers on the way as it seemed, and in that respect not the lesse convenient for his companie. They perfourmed togither many dayes journeyes, with those delightes and fortunes which happen to such as wander countries. In the ende the Angel hauing drawne from them all those things he required to satisfie his desire, disclosed vnto them whose messenger he was, and hauing power to dispose of the liberalitie of Iuppiter, he sayde that for their good companie he would giue them present recompence. Whereupon he willed them to aske what they would : and who made the first demaund, should not onely haue fully all that he required, but the other should haue soorthwith double as much. The one of these two travellers was a couetous man, and the other an enuious man, betwene whome this offer of the Angell bredde no small contention. For, the couetous man, who diuelles alwayes insatiable in the desire of gaine, would not make the first demaunde, hauing regarde to the wordes of the Angell promising double to the seconde. The enuious man on the other side, whose condition is to desire that no good happen to another, vsed silence, determining rather to lose the benefits of the first demaunde, than that his companion should enioy the double of his gaine. Oh infinite malice and corruption of men, in whome euen the certaintie of benefite breedeth emulation, the one not contented to haue moze than he looked for, and the other not satisfied though he had al : the one asfayde to demaund, leasse his friende should finde fauour, and the other dysdaining that the benefite should be deuided : the one greedie to gette the profite of both, the other for spighte brought mischief to both : the one wretched in silence, the other miserable in enuie : the one diuelish in couetousnesse, the other accursed in hatred : the one insatiable in desire, and the other infinite in malice : they both had appetite to drinke, and yet both languished in thirst : they both

A poetical
example of
an enuious
man and a
couetous
man.

saue likelyhood to get, and yet both suffered losse: not for that they needed, but because they corruption so required. For being in this conflict, who should aske first, and that of necessity a demaunde must be made, the envious man, thinking by the sufferance of a simple harme in him selfe, to bring double hurte to his fellowe, desired of the Angell that one of his eyes might be putte out, where-with at the instant he lost one eye, and his companion was made blind of both: so that where the one refused to be satisfied with that which sufficed, the other was rayled as a scourge of his insatiable desires: and the one as wretched in spite, as his companion in covetousnesse, the one became the instrumente of reuenge to the other.

Envie a vice
most antiēt

A iustice of due force against such as strue in the quarell of enuy and covetousnes, both which, being contagious infections in the nature of man, the one poysoneth his soule, and the other consumes and dries up his bodie. Of all other vices in the world, envie is the most ancient, of most custome, and of greatest continuance, yea even to the end of y world. It toke beginning in the serpent, it was familiar with Caine, it hath continued from Adam, to all the posterities of Iacob and Esau, Saul and David, Iob and his progenie, with many other, whose mutuall persecutions moued not so much by their great kingdomes, riches, and principalties, as for the envie they bare one to an other, (envie being of a nature to conspire against the vertues, fortune and glorie of others. So that greater is the grudge that deriues from envie, than the despite descending of iniuries.) For, it happeneth oftentimes, that the man that is wronged, doth either dissemble or forget: but who is settled in envie, leaues nothing undone that maye aduance to reuenge, (envie being none other thing than a disdain and contempt of an other mans glorie,) as was wel exprest by the factions and quarels betwene Caesar and Pompeie, who fought not so often for any priuate iniurie offered by either of them, as for the mutual despite they bare to their common fortune and glorie (envie alwayes bearing more malice to the vertues and glorie of mē, thā to their fortunes or goods.) It is a canker that spredes into all complexions, and a bloud stirring in al sorts of men. For if he be a good man, his vertues make him subiect to envie: and if he be wicked, his vices make him enui-

Envie bears
more ma-
lice to the
vertues of
men thā to
their goods

ous: so that of what temper soever our condition is, we are either disfaoured by enuie, or else we persecute others for enuie. And therefore the best remedie against enuie, is to forbear to be tedious, or to estrange our selues from prosperitie, that no manne contemne vs, and liue contented with aduersitie, not disdainning the happinesse of others. We neede haue no encumbrance with the proude man, so long as we make our selues equall with hym. We neede not be infected by the lecherer, if we holde no conuersation with him. We neede not feare the quarreller, if we expose late no wordes with him: nor be in danger of the couetous man, so long as we aske nothing of him. But it is harde to auoyde the eyes of the enuyous man, for that if we climbe into fauour, he will espie vs: and if we fall in fortune, he will make vs contemne and murmur: yea, there is no sea whiche he sayles not ouer, no kingdome which he inuades not, no power to resist him, nor man able to auoyde him: it beares no regarde to the mightie Prince, nor pitie to the meanest subiect: it fauoureth no man for his force, nor flattereth any for his beautie: it spited the wisdomme of Solomon and riches of Croesus: it despised the liberalitie of Alexander and the prowesse of Hector: it controlled the eloquence of Cicero, and enuied the fortune of Augustus, and bare malice to the iustice of Traiane. All which graue and noble personages were not so replenished with graces and dignities, as pursued with numbers of enuyous eyes: yea, enuie doth not only persecute men that liue, but it denyeth renoune to such as are dead. Enuie to vertue, iealousie to fauour, & aduersitie to prosperitie, are so ioyned together by nature, that the one followeth the other as the shadowe doeth the man. And as nature and conscience carrie vs to owe compassion to suche as be poore and miserable: so ambition and corruption leade vs to enuie against those that stande in fortune and fauour: this one being proufe of the malice of the world, & to such as are downe, none will lende their hande to helpe them vp againe, and to those that stande in grace, manye are the espials to bzing them out of fauour. Therefore let such as are rich and mightie be assured, that by how much greater they are in place & dignitie, by so much more are they subiect to suspitions and enuie. There be certaine brotherhoodes of enuie, whose principall office is to bu-

The best remedie against enuie is to forbear to be tedious

It is hard to auoyde the eyes of the enuyous man

Enuie denieth to giue renoune to such as are dead.

Custom: of
the envious
man.

rie men quick, and ouercome bodies that are dead, and to those brotherhoods belong these liberties and prerogatives: they say no yll of the poore, but speake at large of the riche: they minister no succours themselves, and restrayne others from charitie: they haue mindes boide of all compassion, but readie handes to receiue all that comes: they neuer speake without murmur, nor vse silence without pretence of malice: they are suspicious of their enemies, and traytours to their friendes: they seeke not to salue what is amisse, but are diligent supplanters of me of vertue. Lastly, al that they say is spoken of malice and murmur, but they do nothing according to truth and good meaning: that more safe were it to hold conuersation wth a tyrant, than wth a man possesse with enuie: for that the one takes awaye but the life, and the other persecutes the reputation and glorie. The tyrant hath colour of iustice to all that he doth, but the envious man vnder pretence of seruice and friendship supplantes the merite of the vertuous: euen like the snake, who lying secretely vnder the grasse, shootes out his sting when he is least feared. Hermocatus the last tyrant in *Sycilia* at the very instant of his death, recommended vnto his sonne, that he should not accustome himself to hatred or malice, but rather labo^r to lyue so wel & his vertue might make him enuied: since to be malicious expresseth a spirite of the diuell, but to be despised for vertue, is a swete passion, and not without his proper comfort. And so he willed his sonne to leaue off to do well for any murmur or spight of the people: for that, besides that vertue was a thing that was able to giue him immortallitie: to vertue also was ioyned this operation, that when she giues out hir beames and brightnesse, euen hir enemies are confounded, or at the least yeld to hir glorie. For vertue taking courage of hir proper riches, cares not for the saue of the multitude, for that she hath no neede of prayse.

Vertue hath
no neede of
praise.

One friende reproveth an other, for that of a gentleman, he is become a merchaunt. This letter tendeth to the rebuke of couetousnesse.

Have hitherunto made it sene to y^e wo^rlde, that I loved you with greate iealousie, not for that I saw you yll inclined, but bicause I feared you should fall into yll counsel, the time ministring to wicked spirites greates facilitie to abuse such as stand not environed with good advise. Wherin as I have alwayes lived in care and studie of your well doing, esteeming it so much the more to my felicitie and comfort, by how much I sawe you happie in vertue and fortune: so your outward to wardnesse to all good things toke away all suspicion of yll desires, even as in the greene leaves appearing in the outwarde braunches, is godd testimonie, that the tree is not drie or dead win. But as in al other things of the wo^rld, so in the customes of men chiefly is found most defection, incertaintie, and chaunge: whyche being true in you, in whom was least necessity, so to you more than any other is most iustice of reprove: for that the familiar respect and coniecture of your life promised one thing and the inward operation of your mind practised another. Oftentimes have I told you, that to forget to reuenge iniuries, and remember to requite benefites receiued: to beare fauour to good men, and giue iustice to yll men: to bestowe good turnes vpon suche as are presente, and speake well by those that are absente: and to esteeme little the losses of fortune, and to make greates accounte of the reputation of honour: are things necessarily due to that man that amongst the good will be holden for god. But to be rashe to reuenge wrongs, and vnthankesfull to minister recompence: to oppresse iuste men, and aduaunce the wicked: to backbite suche as are out of sight, and not to be liberall to those that are presente: and to beare heauily the chaunces of fortune, and wey in lighte ballaunce the losse of honour, are dispositions improper to good men, and guides that sayle not to leade they^r followers into

Meanes to
make a man
be called
good.

Golden Epistles.

perpetual contempt and infamie. Of this last sort I will not accuse you, for that my affection carrieth my iudgement into parcialitie: neither can I excuse you, vnlesse I will be guiltie in the office of a friend, considering withal the report that goeth of your late change from a Gentleman following seruice, to a Merchaunt making bargaines: a thing so much the more grieuous to your friends, by how much it is slanderous to you: and so much the lesse honorable for a Gentleman, by howe much it is an office compounded vpon the spoyles and ruines of good men. Accursed is that office wherein you desire to liue poore, to the ende to die riche: and fenne times accursed is that trade, by the which one wicked man seeks to accomplish his couetousnesse to the preiudice of many good men. I wil not vpbraid you with your predecessors, to whose vertue and glozie you doe manifest iniurie: but I can not but aduertise you of the infamie which your couetousnesse will leaue to your succession and posteritie: wherein albeit to one so carelesse of his honour, there is no hope that counsell can be acceptable, and that the couetous man in his owne warning comes to haue no necessity of aduise: yet I wish you remember, that as the razour though hee be tempered with his due proportion of Steele, if hee passe not by the grindstone to giue him an edge, is vnapt to cutte: so there is no man so ripe in forcaste, nor ready in witte and pollicie, who from one time to another standes not in neede of direction: yea, many times we see wise menne sayle and erre, not for wante of wisdom, but because things are of that quality, that the wisdom of man suffiseth not to assure them. And therefore it behoues men not to be obstinate in wil, nor particular in opinion, but to ioyne to their doings the aduertisements of others, for the better suretie and successe of their businesse.

Many things are of that qualitie that the wisdom of man sufficeth not to assure them.

God hath communicated all things to men, sauing immortallitie.

Consider that the theatres or scaffolds of this world, wheron we children of vanitie doe walke, haue their foundations vpon sande, and therefore their strength is but fraile: yea, though the pylloirs be of golde, and holden by with images of things, yet they are subiecte to shake and fall euen into the same gulfs and bottomes which in other ages haue deuoured the treasures of their predecessors. God hath communicated all things to men, sauing immortallitie, whiche hee hath reserued vnto himselfe, for that hee doth neuer dye, and hath sette men in an estate of casualtie and frailetie, for that in the

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the ende al thyngs take ende : only the good and yll renoune of men
aspire greatly to perpetuitie, for that they stande free from fortune,
and preyntie euen ouer the remembraunce of time . The persons
determine, but their renoune liues euer: the bodies resolute to duste,
and out of this is raised an ayre which blowes abroad the reports
of their liues. Let no man beleue in the world, for that it hath a cu-
some to hide vnder a little golde, a great deale of dross: vnder a re-
semblaunce of truth it leades vs in many deceites: and to our very
fewe and short delights, it ioynes infinite griefes, and displeasures.
To whom it shewes most fauour, in him is most peril of destructi-
on : for that the allurements of the world, be but baytes to beguyle
such as byte them, and who serues the world in disdayne and moc-
kerie, findes his recompence most iust and true : where to him that
loues in deede, it ministreth rewards of scozne. Finally in our most
sure flaxe, it awakes vs with great peril: and when we thinke our
estate best established, it is then we are nearest our overthrow and
ruine. How many haue we seene, that with no small care haue tra-
uelled all the dayes of their life to enrich their sonne whom they
loued best: and yet there comes an heire whom they thought not of
on, who with great delight reioyceth in the fruite & vse of al they
painefull trauels. It is a iust sentence, that such as haue beguyled
many, should reape the recompence of their abuses, since Gods iu-
stice goeth by measure, and hath regarde to the equitie of things
without parcialitie to persons . It is no indifferencie, that that
which a wicked father hath heaped for one heire alone, by the pre-
iudice of many good men, shoulde be enjoyed by hym many yeares:
for that the line to measure all things ought to be equall, and gods
gotten by shift, are for the moste parte losse with shame : the same
falling out in common experience, that what the wicked father
winneith with studie and sorrowe, the vnchristie sonne wasteth in
solace and negligence : & what the one plants in toyle and care, the
other remoues in ease and welfare : being a lawe in Gods iustice,
that the prodigall sonne shoulde scozne at the signes of his couetous
father. You see (according to the figure of the scripture) for the
filling of one potte of water, to wade continually wetshoe in the
laake of this miserable worlde . You dye vpp the nurture of
your baine with the sume of signes . You breake your body with

Good and
yll renoune
liue euer.

Deceits of
the world.

Gods iu-
stice goeth
by measure.

The prodigal sonne
scornes at
the signes of
the couetous Fa-
ther.

A. b.

the

He is not
rich that
posselleth
much.
Coutous-
nesse makes
the hoarders
to be hated
and liberali-
tie drawes
loue to the
spender.
Honour and
coutous-
nesse of
themselves
congrarie.

Perplexities
of the coue-
tous man.

the toyles of this life : and aduenture your honour to fill but one iarre or pitcher with water : and yet like as for the time you liue it will not quench your appetite, so in the ende you will be driuen to die of thirst, and the pot which with so great paine you haue filled in your life, shal after your death be broken against the walles of a prodigall heire, who will laugh to see it runne as a ryuer, and reioyce to water the streets with the riches that you locked full dearely in your surest cheastes. Remember, that hee is not riche that posselleth much goodes, but hee whose desires are satisfied, and his minde contented. The liberall man liues in best securitie, for that his liberalitie continues his friends, & reclaimes his enemies : and golde and silver giue better renoune to those that spende them, than to such as hoorde them vpp, for that coutousnesse makes the hoorders to be hated, where liberalitie draweth loue to the spender. By these I wish you to be aduised, that gaine and getting are but weake pillers to vpholde good name : for that coutousnesse and honour are of themselves contrarie, and can holde no congruencie together in one man. All the vices of this worlde haue in them selues some taste, except coutousnesse, which brings grief for the goodes that others haue, and ielousie and suspition for the riches that are euen vnder our owne handes. For, to be rich, it belongs also to haue the fruition of riches, the same giuing pleasure to suche as can take it, as the possession serueth for such as can vse it. The perplexities of the coutous man are, to suspecte his seruantes, and distrust his kinred, to sette espialles ouer his wife, and doubt his children, to be fearefull of the theefe, and to be iealous euen of his owne shadowe : yea, hee is so miserable, that hee sets moze guards of his monie than of his person : he takes no pleasure but in calling his reckonings, in counting his silver, in selling hys wares, and in multiplying his commodities, esteeming it as his Paradise to be alwayes gayning and neuer spending, to be alwayes winning and neuer losing, to be alwayes receiuing and neuer lending, and to be alwayes getting as though hee should neuer die. But when there is question to disburse mony, though it be for things necessarie : oh then he is as farre from modestie, as he is full of malice, accursing to the diuel both wife, children, and familie, and in that passion hee encourageth such to deceiue him most, in whome he hath greatest reason to repose

repose confidence, and who in daede are the best stewards, and husbands of his commodities. So that if couetous men woulde consider what a swete thing liberalitie is, they woulde turne theyr desires to gaine much, into a disposition to giue more: for that, it is not of so great value that which the liberall man doth giue, as is his recompence: seeing that for the pleasure he doth to anye, hee is to redemaunde the tribute of his libertie: yea, the liberal man is the Lord ouer those people where he lineth, and the leader of al such as haue to do with him: for y their recompence being certain, there are none wil denie him there seruice: where, to the nigarde and couetous man, where one will heare him, manye will feare him: where none will speake to him, manye will auoyde him: where none will giue him any thing, many will practise against him: where none will visite him, many will abhorre him: where none wil employe hym, manye will accurse him: yea, who will demaunde anye thing of the couetous man that denyeth all things to himselfe: or how hath he a minde to succour straungers, that is not touched in conscience to suffer his owne to starue: Many couetous men do we see now a dayes to whom God giues power to get riches, pollicie to keepe them, hartes to defende them, life to possesse them, but not libertie to reioyce & vse them: so that, though they be lords ouer the riches of others. yet they are slaues euē to y which theselues possesse: wherein I am of opinion, y by so much more excellent is honest pouertie, than cursed couetousnesse, by how much ypoore man is contented with litle, where to the rich man a great deale seemes nothing. And therefore what minde can be more miserable than to sigh for the goods of an other, more by desire than by default: The greedy minde carryeth no disposition to spend vpon his parents & friends, seeing, he accounts that stolne which he employeth of himselfe. Wherefore, it is a false witnesse to cal the couetous man rich, since it is not he y hath riches, but rather riches are maisters of him: for the which he takes no small paine to get the, vseth as great care to keepe them, and suffereth no lesse griefe to forgoe them: yea I accompt not the couetous rich man so happy, as the poore labourer and deluer of the earth: for that with hys mattock the one drawes reliefe and nouriture out of the erth, and the other wretchedly hydes in the earth his treasure and felicitie,

and

Dispraises
in the coue-
tous nigarde.

Pouertie
more excel-
lent thā co-
uetousnesse.

Golden Epistles.

and how secretly soeuer it is hid, yet he stands not so suspicious of any as of himselfe. For, if he haue two keyes to his chest to keepe his money from stealing, he suffereth ten cares in his hart to keepe him from spending: so that the care being greate to keepe, and the grieve no lesse to lose, I wish al men wel aduised how they begin to get, since to saue a little of their wealth, they are subiect to put in hazard much of their honour.

Therefore who wil be reuenged of a rich man, can wish him no greater passion than to liue long: for that greater is the penaunce by his long life in couetousnesse, than any other reuenge that can be taken of him.

Greate is that ambition, and slanderous that couetousnesse, which neither for shame of the world, nor for feare of death is restrained or moderated, and ten times greater is the abuse of him, who hauing no necessitie, seekes to exchange contentment for care, solace for sorrowe, libertie for bondage, pleasure for paine, and watching for sleeping: yea, accursed is that man that falls from the reputation of seruice in warres, to the profession of brookage in martes and merchandize: and for bearing to climbe hills and mountaines to resist the enemy, is contented to keepe the balie, and robbe his countrie men that be passengers: even like to many olde men, who when they were weake in force without, seeke to growe strong in malice within. By these (say) I wishe you consider what damnable office you haue taken in hande, and into what discreditable opinions you are growen, with bringing to your friendes no small grieve, and to your selfe a lamentable infamie. I aduise you, for end, to chaunge your minde, seeing it is easer to suffer the wante of wealth than to dissemble the abuse of honour,

A

A letter in consolation declaring the commodities of anger, and the benefits of patience.

Would you were as good a Physician as I know you to be a true Christian: then would you either vse the proper remedy to infelicities, whiche is patience, or at leaste shake off the heauinesse of your misfortune, which iustly becomes a wiseman. For, as to all naturall infirmities afflicting the bodie, phylicke is able to asorde cures proper and conuenient: so, when tribulations happen, and the minde is trauelled, the man of God wil not conteste or argue why he is visited, but loke vp to the will of the Lorde, with whom our medecines are readie compounded, though not swete and pleasaunt to our taste, yet necessarie and profitable to our saluation and helth. And albeit oftentimes he deales not with vs as we would and loke for, yet we finde from time to time that he tranelleth to our remedie, and knowing beste the humoꝝ that offends vs, he can in due season apply the medicine that best woꝝketh to our deliuerie. And therefore when we are in tribulation, and seme to aske of God in vaine, we ought not soꝝthwith to enter into murmur, but to weigh with that little he denyeth vs the, the many graces he hath graunted vs afoꝝe, (it beeing too great an vthankesfulnesse, to forget the many blessings we haue receiued, and beeing denyed but smal things, to raise great complaints against him.) But as a mischiefe known of befoꝝe, and diligently looked foꝝ, is not so græuous as when it comes vpon a sodaine: so foꝝ that I haue alwayes knowen you to be resolute in chaunces of time and fortune, I hope you stande now in least necessitie of counsel, when there is most occasion of courage or vertue, esteeming it all one to foꝝesee a mischiefe, when you are sure of the remedie. And yet because afflictions are the true touchstones to trie the affections of friends, I thought good to offer my selfe to com-

municate with you, not in direction, for that I knowe you able and well aduised, but in counsell, which being faithfully giuen, ought to finde no season vnapt to be receiued.

Euerie new
mutation of
mind bring-
es with it
a new care.

Like as in experience of worlde things, euerie new mutation brings with it for the presente a newe care, and leaues not with-
standing the minde in greater suertie at last : so for your parte, if
you know the necessitie of afflictions and your owne debilitie : if
you considered well of fortune and hir chaunges : if you waighed
men with their malices : and discerned betwene the worlde and
his allurementes : you would not suffer heauinesse for that which
is necessarie, nor seeke your succours in things that entertaine
your miserie, since it is moze miserable to be without vertue, than
to be afflicted. Such is the subtile malice of the worlde, that the
lesse hard men giue to it, the moze doth it prepare to strike them,
to the ende to giue them after wardes a greater wounde. Many
men sounde and dysposed, die sooner of dysseases newly growen,
than the weake that haue languished many yeares in their infir-
mities : and therefore seeing it is most sure that the wretched man
cannot passe without miserie, he is moze wise that can taste his
trauels by little and little, than he that tryeth them altogether : for
that, many things are eaten by mozels, which if they were swal-
lowed together, would bring peril of strangling : euen so at sundry
times we suffer many perplexities, which if they should trauel vs
all at once, our frailtie were too weake to resist them, for that they
would deuoure vs all in one daye. So that seeing God hath so or-
dayned that what we holde our selues most sure of, we see often-
times suffer most perill. Why do we complaine of want of rest,
when we haue vnderaken a iourney wearie and troublesome ?
Why doe we thinke muche to stumble, hauing chosen a stonie
way : How can we thinke to sleepe in securitie, when in y^e seames
of our bed be solwen thoughtes and cares : Lastlie, there is no rea-
son to thinke we should be free in heauen, seeing we stand bounde
to the worlde. There is no moze power in Fortune to assure thin-
ges, than in the sea to be calme, being subiect to the windes. And
no moze authoritie hath she to dispose things, than the simple ma-
riner that committes his sayles to the winde, whiche driueth his
ship, not whether he would, but whether the waues and wind do
shoue

He is wise
that feeleth
his trauels
by little and
little.

thoue hir. It is an infallible rule, that all natural courses are subiect to mutation euerie yeare, and al woꝛldly men that hunt after Fortune, are sure to suffer eclipse euerie moment. So that seeing natural things (being necessarie) can not retaine alwayes one essence and being: it is molte iust that the goods of Fortune perishe which are superfluous.

Al natural things are subiect to chaunge.

I am soꝛie foꝛ your misaduenture, as if it hadde happened to my selfe: and moꝛe soꝛie that I can not as I woulde make known with what heart I beare compassion to you: since it is one principal office amongst friendes, to communicate in Fortunes: and though their persons be diuided, yet to exercise communitie of counsell, comfort, and remedie. So that hauing no possibilitie to come to you, (standing subiect to the seruice of the Prince:) and lesse expectation of relief (being not able to minister to mine own wantes:) I thoughte to vse the industrie of my penne, to declare the disposition of my hearte, hoping you will accept that that is, and loke foꝛ no moꝛe than maye be: and where in giuing you aduise to make no reckoning of that is happened, you may perhappes take occasion to thinke, that eyther I knowe not the grauitie of the chaunce, oꝛ else that I esteeme you to haue want of iudgement: I can not but confesse to holde this opinion, that albeit you are subiect to passion as a mā, yet your discretion makes you able to suffer and dissemble according to reason and wisdom: foꝛ that, as in many iniuries there is moꝛe securitie to dissemble than to reuenge: so when the might of our aduersarie preuailes aboue our power, the best counsel is to suffer, seeing there is no possibilitie to reuenge. Therefore, if in the present wronges you suppose you haue receyued, you will consider the office of a Christian, and forgette the passion of a persecutour, you will not so muche beholde the malice of him that pursueth you, as the iustice of G D D that suffereth it, in whose presence you stande so guiltie and loaden with sinne, that this affliction oughte not to seeme heauie, considering the grauous merites of your life past. Foꝛ, if we weigh in one ballaunce, our old offences, and the punishmentes wee feele, we shall finde our paynes farre inferior to our wicked merites, and oure offences rather touched wyth a mylde iustice, than strayned to a due correction.

In many iniuries there is more securitie to dissemble a wrong than to reuenge it.

We may note also in Gods manner of visitation, a mercifull difference he useth betwene the reprobate, and people peculiarlye chosen to himselfe. For, to the one theyr myseries are but stumbling blockes to make them fall further: and in the other, they worke repentaunce with many other perfections.

Sure, it belongs not to Christians, to murmur at his crosse, nor grudge to beare it, seeing his hand is not heauier than his mercie plentifull: yea, he visiteth the afflicted with the same comfort that the Physician doth his patient, and succoureth the distressed as we see he relieueth the drie and thirstie ground with the dewe and drops of heauen. So that let euerie one acknowledge that the tribulations which God suffereth, are not blockes to make vs stumble, nor heauie burdens whose weight may make vs fall, but they be furnaces necessarie to refine our faith, and instrumentes working to our perfection, wherein who remaines not constant to the end, can not be made pure mettall: for that to be afflicted, and not to suffer with patience, brings forth no other fruite, than as mettall throwen into the fire, and not passing throughe all his heates comes out couered more with dross than pure gold. And albeit I cannot denie, but to be angrie is naturall, and most sorts of men holding more of fleshe and nature, than of spirite and grace, doe draw most that way where they finde the appetite to haue most power of action, yet for that anger hath his definition and partes respecting time, occasion, and other circumstaunces, I thoughte good to offer you a short description: not thereby to leaue you in any affection to followe it, but to lead you out of the way of those inconueniences whiche he brings with him, hoping you will forbear effswines to pursue him whome you suppose to haue done you so great a displeasure, seeing euerie reuenge nourisheth occasions of new cruelties, and therefore more suretie to some men to dissemble, than to execute. Anger is no other thing than a wicked desire of reuenge, an enemy to al good counsel, and a corrupter of euery good condition: yea, that which we call anger, is no other thing than a vehemente desire of reuenge, sometimes respecting the occasion that is giuen, but for the moste part pushed forward by a wicked minde of the partie who he possesseth: and when the punishment exceeds the fault, then it hath chaunged the qualitie

Euerie reuenge misleadeth occasions of further crueltie. What anger is.

of anger into an habite of reuenge. The man that is angrie, beloe-
 ues no aduice of friendes, and is carelesse euen of his owne estate: he is suspicious of all men, and sobaine in his actions, his face is fierie, and his handes readie to strike, his thoughtes are malicious, and his tong trayned to all speeches of despight and reppoche: he is dispossessed of all temperaunce, modestie, and reason, and runnes as one possessed with a wicked spirite to all actes of crueltie, iniurie, and tyrannie. Anger carryeth with it these wicked conditions, that soz once that we lende him our wil, he will be alwayes after. He ouer all doings, and do all things that he list against our wil. Al men possessed with anger are like to a lampe, whiche by the superfluitie of oyle giues no light, but casts out certaine sparkling snuffes and flames. But in a magistrate or man of authoritie, there is nothing that moze discovereth his vertue or vice, soz that thoughte he haue occasion to rebuke offences, yet he hath no permission to let him selfe passionate. It is a iust thing that suche as offende the lawes, should receiue the punishment of the lawes, but yet suche ought to be the moderation of paines, as that they aspire not to the degree & effect of reuenge: since all men feele with moze grieve the violent rigour that is done them, than the iudiciall punishments they receiue. So that a man to restraine or correct his anger, is not only a vertue but a grace supernatural, soz that in wooldly things there can be no greater kinde of triumph, than euerie one to haue the victorie of his owne harts. And albeit anger is then somewhat tollerable, when the occasion is iust, yet being a vice so imperious in man, I woulde not with any sufferance giuen to it, soz that all that comes of it is wicked, and of his proper nature hartfull. There be manie things which in the beginning we haue power ether to receiue or refuse, but if anger haue once taken possessiō of vs, it sinks as a stone throlow into a riuer, and stayeth not til it come to the bottome of our harts: and if reason rise againste it, it will not be remoued, soz that it hath taken too deepe roote in our thoughtes and will. The same beeyng the cause, that all things that angrie men doe, are of necessitie blinde and foolish, soz that it is not a thing easie, that a man troubled with anger, should haue the vse of reason: and doing thinges without reason, he doth them without arte, and so by consequence

Descripti-
 ons of an
 angrie mā.

No greater
 triumph than
 to conquer
 affections.

Repentance
the verie
stipend and
effect of
malice.

Where is no
capacitie of
counsel, ther
persuasions
are in vaine.

Time re-
forms more
things than
reason.

Time hath
power to
moderate
palsion.

Without rule, wisdom, or discretion. Let every man therefore labour to hate anger for the discommodities that are in it, and learn to be temperate, wherein is the true virtue and contentment. He that abstaines from speaking villanie, is moste wise, since, repentance is the verie stipend and effect of malice, and there is seldome any thing uttered in malice, which tournes not to the hurte of the speaker. We finde by experience, that to a man in choller, it is a principall remedie to correct his tongue, and delay a little to doe reuenge. For, men speake and do many things in their anger, which they with after wardes had neuer passed their thoughtes. The man that is wronged, is not forthwith to be dealt withall to pardon the thurte, but rather to delay and respite the reuenges for that a man dwelling in passion, is not apte to pardon readily, if first he be not appeased. And therefore to seeke to reduce a man to reason, so long as he is possesse with the heate of his furie, is but losse of diligence: for that, having no capacitie of counsell, persuasions are in vaine, and where there is no spirit so tractable, there can be no possibilitie of reformation, being better to suffer his furie, than to minister aduise, for that bating in the heate of his anger, he standes in more neede of a bryble than of a spurre. Therefore whosoever hath conuersation with a man chollericke, standes in more necessitie of policie than of power, for that anger being to be appeased by discretion, receyues no medicine if it be not perfect in time, place, qualitie, and every other circumstance conducing to purge, but not to pain. There be moe things which time both moderate, than are by reason accorded, as is to be seene in the experience of many great quarrels of many great personages, whome neyther friendes could entreate, nor enimies feare, nor golde coulde allure, nor other presentes reclaine: and yet, after time hath had his course, there hath bene founde a facilitie in that which aforesaid seemed difficulte and desperate. Time hath power to change parties and passions, and to newe men to giue newe affections, by which it happeneth, that hee that suffereth with the time, shall see the hart of his aduersary borne in the same fire where with hee supposeth him selfe is consumed. The wyse man hath his tongue in his heart, but hee that is angrie and furious, hath his heart in his tongue: the one is angrie for that he suffereth, and praiseth all that he speaketh, but the other is grieued

ned when his tong runnes at libertie, and reioyceth most when he suffereth most: yea, patience is the inuention of God, and leades me to beare al mutations with courage and constancie, and in calamities not to be vnfurnished of remedies.

A discourse of the Ages of mans life.



Here hath bene an auncient question, what be the ages of mans life, and whether there be sixe or seauen of them, wherein (the better to be resolued) we must presuppose, that this worde (Age) is vnderstanded in two sorts, as the age of the world, and the age of man. The age of the world beares number and reckoning both according to the Poets, and collection of the Christian authors. The Poets make four ages of the world, the first of gold, the second of silver, the third of brasse, & the fourth of iron. The first inuenter of this partition of ages, was Sibill of *Cuma* from whom the Latine Poets borrowe their coniectures, as appereth in Ouid in the first booke of his *Metamorphosis* where he discourseth vpon the foure ages, when & how they passed. And according to the accompt of the Christians, there be eyght ages, that is to saye, seauen afoze the comming of Christ, and one since. But because your question concernes nothing the ages of the world, we wil leaue the at libertie, & reason only of the ages of man: wherof I see not howe it is possible to speake resolutely, so that it is a thing not certaine in it selfe, and hangs altogether vpon the authoritie and opinions of auncient wryters, of whom we haue to beleue best, such as we beare most credite to.

First it is affirmed by many that there be these seuen ages in the life of man, Infancie, Puerilitie, Mans estate, Youth, Grauntie, Old age, and State decrepite: they restraine one part of these ages to a certaine number of yeares, and leaue the rest without limite.

Touching the opinion of the number, it seemes to holde some similitude with reason: so that seuen is a number vniuersall and

Golden Epistles.

accomplished. And in that number if we account the seauen Planets, the moving of whom causeth the generations and corruption in the earth: by greater reason vnder this worde seauen we may also apply the course and continuation of the time: for that by the same science and reason that the aunciente reduced the planets into seuen, and they to inclose in their motions, the reuolution of times: euen by the same may we also establish seauen ages which may comprehend the lyfe and continuance of man.

There were others that set downe but six ages, Infancie, Puerilitie, Mans estate, Youth, Grauitie, and Olde age: of this opinion is Modorus, whome, by reason of his authoritie, we will followe for the present, confessing notwithstanding that in some respects, there may bee seauen ages in the lyfe of man. But this last opinion seemes most reasonable in this, for that it speaketh more distinctly of the yeres of the ages, than the other that establisheth seauen, for that it can not debate distinctly of the yeres of youth and mans estate. In this sorte is the reckoning of these ages. Infancie, whiche is the first age, begins euen from the birth of man, and continueth till seauen yeres be accomplished, it is called in Latine *Infantia*, for that in that age all things are holden childlike that he doth not hauing any libertie of speech, nor other thing to expresse his perfection.

Infancie.

Puerilitie.

Puerilitie being the seconde age, continueth from seuen to foureene yeres. The Latines call it *Pueritia*, for that it is an age pure, and not stained with any abhominable vice, being as yet not defiled with vnchaste motions, nor disposed to the vile pleasures of the flesh, as after wards it is. Of this beastlinesse and vile humour of the flesh, the Apostle makes plaine description, when he bids vs shunne fornication: for all other sinnes that man committes, are without his bodie, but he that commits whoredome, sinneth in his bodie; and againste his bodie this age then is verie pure as beeing not so able to the beastlye actions of the flesh, as is the other that succedes, whiche is Mans estate, according to the text in Genesis, saying: The senses and thoughtes of the harte of man, are giuen to ill, euen from his Mans estate. But for al thys we muste not thinke that Puerilitie is exempted from the vices and sinnes which generally defile man: for, that which comes from

2 Cor. 5.

Gene. 3.

the

The heart, corruptes man sayth the Lord, and therefore, since this age is not free from lewde wordes and wicked thoughtes, it cannot be altogether pure: so that to exempt it altogether from sinne, is too great an error. And where some holde, that children being somewhat growne, haue no sinne, but begin to sinne at fourtene yeres when haire begins to appeare in their naturall places: if were an opinion to be suffred, if men committed sinne in no other members than in their partes of generation. But who doubteth that stealing, lying, and swearing bee sinnes, whereunto young chyldren aboue all other vices, are most inclined: so that we may say that this age is exempt only from the sinne of the fleshy, but not from other corruptions. And albeit it bee pure and cleane from vice in his beginning, yet that innocencie continueth not till the ende of the age, and procedes for that in the beginning they haue not the vse of discretion, and by that want no power to doe good or ill, as to bee esteemed ill or good: seeing the good and the ill are measured by the discretion of the doers, so that according to Aristotle, all the operations and motions of man procede of the vnderstanding and will: and therefore it is harde to iudge of the workes and dispositions of lyttle chyldren, till by increase of yeaeres they enter into the vse of reason, a time when they haue abilitie to doe well or ill: the same being the cause why the Canon speakes not indistinctly of all chyldren, but onely of suche as are somewhat raised into yeaeres and age: for it impugneth nothing the opinion of suche as say that little chyldren are without sinne, but meanes expressely of suche as are ten or twelue yeaeres of age, who in deede are not exempted from sinne.

Mans estate, whiche is the thirde age, begins at fiftene yeaeres: Mans estate and continueth till eight and twentie, according to Ildores opinion. This age, the Latines call *Adolescentia*, for two reasons, the one for their possibilitie and nearenesse to ingender: the other for that they increafe and rise into strength.

Touching the first, it is referred to the beginning of this age, wherein yong men approach to the power of procreation, which was further from them in their chyldhood as hath ben sayde. The seconde consideration beholdes chiesly the ende of that age, according to the opinion of many, who hold that man increaseth till twentie

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oft wth and twentie yeres, which is the ende of Mans estate. But Iddore saith, that *Adolescentia* lasteth til eight and twentie yeres, not wthstanding man doth not alwayes cōse in increasing til then, and yet it seemes, that that age took his name directyve of increase, for that then man cōmes to his perfect growth.

In the ages afore rehearsed, Infancie and Puerilitie, man groweth still, yea and in one part of the third age, which is *Adolescentia*, but in the ages following he groweth nothing, for that he hath taken hys perfection afore: and therefore seeing all growing endes in *Adolescentia* (for after that age mā increaseth nothing) the name of increase or growing both most properly appertaine to him.

Youth, which is the fourth age, entreteth at nine and twentie, & endeth at fiftie, as Iddore affirmeth. The Latines call it *Iuventus*, by reason of the helpes and aides that the world bath of men of that age, as in that title is most proper to him by reason of the force & vertue which men of that age haue. In the former ages men are not knit, nor haue their forces accomplished: but in this age they haue theyr full strength, & are well able to endure al impositions of paines, burdens, or travell.

In this is discerned the difference of the two opinions: the one establishing seven ages, and Iddore reckoning but five. Such as make a number of seaven, diuide youth, aduoyning vnto him another part which they call *Virilitie*. But according to Iddore there is but one age, and y^e is called Youth, which me thinks is not to be g^{yn} at the end of Mans estate at eight and twentie yeres, as Iddore holdeth: but it were better to determine Mans estate at one and twentie yeres, a time wherin he hath takē his growth, & there to establish the beginning of Youth, which is to last untill thirty yeres or there about: and after it may succēde *Virilitie*, which may endure untill fiftie, where Iddore establisheth the ende of Youth. According to this order the names of the ages maye goe properly with them. For, *Iuuentus* takes his name of this Latine Verbe *Iuua*, signifying to Ayde or Helpe, and in that age men are most convenient to be employed, and of most abilitie to giue ayde. And *Virilitie* deriveth from this Latine Nōwne *Vir*, signifying Strength, as an age wherein men being compleate, are in theyr greatest force. And so, as the Young man is good minister ayde

and helpe, so in the man accomplished is good abilitie to doe thyngs of himselfe: so to haue necessitie of aide, is referred to the forces yet weake and not accomplished, but to do any thing of our selues is a true signe of strength fully furnished. Besides, it is of common proue, that a man comes not to his full strength til he be thirtie yeres old, and therefore by good reason that estate of age maye be called Virilitie.

But Isidorus thinking not to separate Virilitie from Youth, sets downe other termes and limits to ages, establishing the ende of Mans estate at eighte and twentie yeares, and not at one and twentie, and appointing the beginning of Youth at nine and twentie (a season that best makes perfect the strength of men) hee puts no difference betwene Virilitie and Youth.

The fift age is called Grauitie or Vnwelldinesse. Touching thys age, the two opinions aforesaide do differ in name only, Isidore calling it Vnwelldines, and the other giuing it no title at al. They both seeme to take the commoditie of the Latine word, the one calling it *Senectus*, and the other *Senium*, notwithstanding it concerne diuers ages.

This age of Vnwelldines beginnes at fiftie yeares, and endes at threescore and tenne, as Isidore holdeth, who calleth it Vnwelldines, bycause the qualitie of heauinesse or weighte, makes fall all things lower. And as in the other foure ages afoze, men grow either in stature or in force: so in this age their strength seemes to determine, and their bodies and partes beginne to decay, and decline to debilitie. For, vntil fiftie yeares, man maintaynes alwayes hys strength and stature, but after he beginnes to faint as one that had runne his course, and doth nothing but heape infirmities & weaknesse euen vntil death. According to the opinion of such as establish seauen ages, this estate of yeres is called Olde age, whereunto Isidore consents not, but calls that Olde age which beginnes at threescore and tenne, and continueth til death, though man liue neuer so long. So that all the other ages are restrained to certaine limits of yeares, but this last age is subiect to no terme, so that The day and houre of mans death are not known. Isidore (speaking of this age) sayth that old age being the first age, can not be limited nor made

subiect to terme; for that there is attributed vnto if the residue of the life of man which passeth the firste five ages. But touching all that hath bene sayde heretofore; that euerie age of the life of man hath his certaine tearmes and limits except the last: it is to be vnderstande that all is spoken of the ages of men of our time, and not of such as were afore the flood, since in those seasons, the age of man were a thousand yeares. Neyther do we meane the men of the seconde age, which begunne from the flood vntill Abraham: for that in that age there were men that liued sixe hundred yeares, and some foure hundred, as appeareth by the doctrine of Genesis. And yet those men (saith Isidore) had no more age than we, and all their yeares limited to a certaine time and terme, except the last age, wherunto could be ascribed no certaintie of terme, for that (as it is founde in Genesis) some liued longer than others: and therefore their ages were not compted in that forme of yeares, that we recken ours. For, we take the beginning of our fifth age, which is called Vn weldinesse at fiftie yeares: which could not be in the men of the firste times; seeing the fifth age presupposeth in vs a debilitie of strength and naturall operations: a thing which could not happen to the first men, for that if they had begun to decline at fiftie yeares, they could not by any possibilitie haue endured so long, seeing there were of them that liued more than fiftie yeares. So that we maye establishe the fifth age of those people to beginne at three hundred yeares, or there aboute, aspiring verie neare the thirde parte of their life. In which respect, this fifth age, hauing an other beginning in them than in vs, I thoughte it not out of purpose to touche somewhat those ages, which had not the same tearmes wherunto wee are subiect at this present. Here must be considered the accompte that we applye to y third age, and other ages since, vntil Dauid, in whose time men liued no more than they do now, according to his owne testimonie. The dayes of men are threescore yeares, and if any liue til fourescore, the residue of their life is but grieve and trouble.

Psalme.89.

Touching the ages of the men of the firste and seconde world wee cannot speake resolutely, nor of the tearmes or limits wherunto they were referred. One reason is, for that those thyngs were not con-

continued until these latter tymes, where were authours and writers to record them. And withal, for that those things which were once past, and no more in nature, the writers had no great care to dispose them to monumente. To this may be also added another reason more peremptorie, that notwithstanding the authours had wil to describe particularly those things, as they hadde done the ages: yet they had no meane thereunto, seeing experience sheweth vs the ages which are proper for procreation, in what season man forbeares to grow, in what time he is in his flower, and when he begins to decline. By which the wise men toke mean, not only to baptise & distinguish the ages of man, but also limit such as were subiect to tearme. From the first & second age of the world, we are assured y^e the age of man was diuided into sixe, as it is now. For, y^e nie of that season felt y^e same mutations that we feele, and did not ingender in all ages, & yet in certaine ages they were able to procreation. They grewe into stature and strength untill certayne times, and after wardes their growing ceased. In a certaine age they were in their flower, and in another they beganne to wither and decline. But we know not in what tearme, nor in what time they suffered these mutations, as nowe experience in our selues makes them easilye knowne to vs. What was the cause why the wise men of those times coulde not limite to certaine tearmes of yeares, the ages of men of the firste and seconde worlde, as ours are. Moreover, if anye wyll dispute that there is more reason to establish seauen ages in the life of man, than sixe, for y^e the Scriptures makes mention of *Senectus* and *Senium*, that is Olde age and State decrepite: it may be answered, that the Scripture appoints no more ages to the life of man, than doth Isidore. For, these two words *Senectus* and *Senium* are the two latter ages of man whiche Isidore calls by other names, naming Vnwelddinesse that whiche the Scripture calls Old age: and Old age, that whiche in the Scripture is called State decrepite.

There is also an other reason agreeing with the opinion of Isidore, that *Senectus* and *Senium* be not taken in the Scripture for two ages, but for one, and that to be the powder or dulle of the life of man. Olde age, (saith Isidore) whiche is the sixte age, is not

limited, so that all that remaines of the life of man, (after the five first ages be past) is layde and referred to olde age. Touching the State decrepite, it is the end of Olde age called *Senium*, as holding vpon the traine of the first age. This last opinion seemes not the least likely, and most comfortable to the saying of Ildore, by whom is not meant, that the Decrepite state is the vttermoſt end of Olde age: so so it shoulde be one selfe thing with deathe, and holde no part of life: but it is ment that the State decrepite makes one part of the life of man and of the sixte age, being (as it were) the dregges and powder of Olde age, and generallie of all the life of man. And so death, muche lesse that it is part of the life of mā, seeing we holde it a iust meane of priuation of life. But if anye disposed to sift straitly our opinion, will aske this question, that seeing y State decrepite is one part of our life, why we make not an age of it, as we do of the other parts of y life of mā. It may bee answered that by so much is the question vaine, by holwe muche the matter is impossible: so, all the other ages are subiect to beginning and end, and are determinable to a certaine content, proportion and number of yeares. And touching Old age, albeit hys ende can not assuredly be determined, yet it is knowen in what time he beginnes, which is about threſcore and ten yeares. But the State decrepite drawes another course, as hauing neither beginning nor ende certaine and terminable, and therefore can not be called an age distinct, and of it selfe.

The same being easily scene in this, that it contaynes that residue of the life of man, wherein the body is made vnweldie wyth many infirmities, the which appeares after a man is entred into Old age and not afore, notwithstanding we seeme to feele and suffer Vnweldinelle. So that, that part of the life whiche is so grievous, hath no certaine beginning, seeing those infirmities come sooner to one than to an other, and endure either more or lesse, according to the complexion of persons: and therefore, that can not wel be called an age compleate, but rather part of an age.

This State decrepite hath ben referred with great reason to the yeares of Olde age, being the last and extreameſt of all the other ages: so that, there remaines no other thing to such as are come to it, but death; and so that such as liue so long, are naturallie sub-

ied to many griefes and sorowes. Some men haue called the end
of this last age *Senium* an opinion full conformable with the scrip-
tures. For as it is here alleged that the State decrepite is y^e last
part of the life of man and followeth olde age: so the scripture ac-
compts the continuance and proportion of our life to threescore
and tenne yeares, referring the residue but to trauaile and do-
lour. So that this part of the life so overladen with infirmities,
is y^e which we call State decrepite, & latines *Senium*, being in deed
the laste age called Old age. The beste dayes of the life of men
(saith Virgil) are those which passe first: after the whiche succede
infirmities and diseases, yea and Old age, which leades with him
fearefull death. Thus doth Virgil call Old age, a state trouble-
some and afflicted with infirmities, wherein if he had knownen
the State decrepite to be separate from Old age, and that he hadde
taken it for an age of it selfe, he had giuen it communitie with
those entis and infirmities whereof he speaketh, and not to Olde
age, for that it is in the laste and moſte extreme age that those
myſeries happen to man: yea he makes no reckning of any
age after olde age, for that nexte after it he makes accompte
of death. The same prouing sufficiently, that the State decrep-
ite is not age separate and distincte from Olde age, but contei-
nes a parte of the same, whiche agreeth with the opinion of

Isidore, and holdeth consente with the Scriptures,
and the Poets: in al whiche is no difference

nor distinction betwene *Senium* and olde

age,

A continuing

A continuing of the discourse begonne, wherein
is brought in an other opinion.



We haue already shewed two opinions touching the ages of the life of man, whereof the one appoints seauen, and the other establisheth but five: but now we wil adioyne another, which sets downe in the life of man but five ages, that is to say, Infancie, Puerilitie, Mans estate, Youth, and Old age. Of this opinion is M. Terentius Varro in his booke of the Original of the Latine tong, and is also alledged by Seruius in his Comment of Virgil vpon the fift booke of his Aeneidos. This opinion agreeth with the former, and foure first ages, which foure there is no meane to impugne, seeing they haue taken theyr names of the foure diuerse estates whych we see in our life. The first age is, when by reason of our verie fewe yeares and indisposition of our body, we haue no vse of reason, nor full knowledge of things: this age we call Infancie or Innocencie, as an estate wherein man knoweth not yet what sinne is.

Infantia.

There is an other age, wherein albeit man hath a certaine vse of reason, yet by reason of the inabilitytie of his person, he is not yet able to procreation: this age is called Puerilitie or Childhoode, continuing from eight yeares to fouretene.

Puerilitas.

There is another age which giues to man the vse of reason, and power of procreation, his bodie bearing not yet risen to his greatnes and perfect force, but groweth still in strength & bignesse: this third age is called Mans estate, for that in it we take our greatnesse and stature, although we growe still in force.

There is another age wherein man hath his strength accomplished, and is apt to all actions possible to be done in any age whatsoeuer, this age is named Youth. And for that these foure mutations are so manifest, they are all resolued and concluded in these foure ages, notwithstanding they haue not said so of the ages following, and from thence is deriued the diuersitie of opinions,

M. Varro

M. Varro reckoneth but Olde age after these foure ages as ^{Olde age.} foze recited, taking Youth (as I thinke) for the age wherein man is perfect in his forces, in his stature, and in his vertues naturall referring to Olde age all the time of declination or decaying of the naturall forces of man : so that according to Varro, Olde age shoulde beginne at fiftie yeares, and endure vntil death. This opinion differeth from the former, in that the first putteth Virilitie amongst the number of ages, separating it from Youth, wher this incloseth it vnder the name and title of Youth, according to the iudgement of Isidore. And yet this opinion is contrarie to the former, which makes Old age and *State decrepita*, two ages, agreeing with the resolution of Isidore, who accomptes Olde age for the laste age, and takes the *State decrepita* but for one part of it. Notwithstanding Varro differeth from Isidore, who after Youth establisheth the age of Grauitie or Vnwelldinesse of the which Varro makes no mention, following therein the first opinion, whiche toucheth nothing that Graue and heauie age.

Whiche of these opinions is most
worthie.



Albeit there is neuer one of these three opinions, which brings not with it his meane of defence, and iustification, as being all grounded vppon causes whiche haue theyr proper apparance and similitude with reason: yet there is difference of authoritie betwene them, one being moze autentike than an other: the same being the consideration why I hold the second best approued, and most reasonable. Touching the first opinion establishing two ages of Olde age, and *State decrepita* it is contrarie to al good authors, who haue alwayes taken Olde age, for the last age of man, not meaning that the *State decrepita* was an age distinct, but a part of Olde age. Wher in if it be alledged, that the *Decrepita state* is not taken for the last part of the first age, for that it hath no beginning limited, nor any end determinable, but that it is taken for the last age, which is limited

ted in his beginning, notwithstanding it hath no end determinable, as beginning at threescore and tenne yeares, and lasting untill death, and that this age also is that whiche some call Old age. It may be answered, that taking the termes and limits in that sort, we agree with the first and second opinion, touching the two last ages, and that there is no difference but in the names. So that we may conclude that the seconde opinion is more anayleable than the firste, for that it consents in names of the ages with the good authours and Poets. Wherein truely, for things that live in acte, and have bene inuented, those opinions that hold most conformitie with the iudgement of good authours, oughte to be reputed as most true. The third opinion auouched by M. Varro, albe it it be in some sort supposable, yet Ildore satisfieth more at full, for that he puts Vnweldinesse for an age betwene Youth and Old age. For, first in that age men seele a manifest mutation, whiche deserueth wel to beare the name of age: seeing that properlye Old age maye be called that time wherein the iudgements of man beginneth to fayle and diminishe, both by the greatnesse of age, and in disposition of the bodie and person. Touching Youth, it is the flower of the age of man, since in that age he is man compleat, and perfect in his forces, actions, and natural operations: but that age being past, all things that are in man beginne to decline: the it is that the force of the bodye, and vertues naturall beginne to weare and ware weake: of whiche decay procédes also a diminution of iudgements and vnderstandyng. All whiche are discerned dayly by ordinarie experience, besides the reasons and argumentes conducible to proue them. For, first experience sheweth vs, that as man sayleth in corporal strength, so his iudgements beginnes to grow weake and fraile: but the sence and vnderstanding remaine in puritie and vertue. The reason is, for that the strength of the bodie and forces naturall, are powers materiall, and subiect to alteration and chaunge: but the sence and vnderstanding being not materiall, cannot therefore fall into mutation but by some accident, and by the alteration of the body, according to the doctrine of Aristotle, that the vnderstanding wareth not olde, although the bodie doth. And therefore, there may be sometimes wherein mā may lose al his corporal forces, afoze y vnderstanding tast of any such infirmitie: but to say y that time may be reduced

into an age to call it Old age, it can not wel be so, for þ the sence & understanding are weakened in Old age: so þ, that age may be called Vnweldines according to þ Etymologie of Isidore saying thus: some thinke the Latines called old men *Senes*, because of the debilitie of sence falling vpon old men whō the greatnes of age makes raue, and subiect to intertaine fancies. The natural philosophers saye also that soude men and idiots haue for the most part, theyr bloud cold, as men wise and wel compound haue it hote and stirring: the same being the occasion that old men hauing their bloud cold, and yōg children in whom it is not yet hote ynough, are not resolute in their iudgements: so that it is no greate error to compare together olde men and children, as equall in temperature. For, dotting olde men are scolith by the greatnes of their age, and in young children is no power of iudgemente by reason of theyr minoritye. Secondly, this seconde opinion which establissheth onely five ages, is most commonly approued of wise men, and agreeth with the iudgement of Isidore, that the Philosophers haue distinguished the life of man by those five termes. Thirdly, this seconde opinion hath a similitude with the names which the *Greekes* haue attributed to ages, calling that which foloweth youth, *Presbyter*, and in place of Old age they vse *Geron*. so that *Presbyter* is an other age than Old age, as also Isidore calls it Vnweldinesse. And sure those that stande in that estate and proportion of age, may be called neither yong nor olde, but occupie (as it were) a meane degree betwē both, according to the opinion of Isidore speaking thus.

The first age (saith he) which is called Vnweldines, is referred to such as enter into Old age, and is as the decay and declination of youth falling into Old age and yet in true proprietie is neither Old age nor youth, but it containes euen the selfe same which the *Greekes* call *Presbyter*. This age begins at 50, and ends at threescore & ten: wherein if any would dispute by þ words of Isidore, þ the age of Vnweldines foloweth Old age, & that it is an estate most neare vnto death, by this Latine text of Isidore, *Quinta aetas senioris est grauitas &c.* vsing the Comparatiue *Senioris*: it may be answered, that *Senioris* is taken here for one that approacheth Olde age, euen as *Adolescentior* in Latine signifveth one that is yet in his chyldehode, and not yet so sufficiente as hee whom the Latines call

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cal *Adolescens*.

This phrase and manner of speeche is common, and vsed for the most part amongst the Latine authoꝝ and Poets, as Ouide, Terence, with many others: so that we may here apply Senior, to one that groweth neare Olde age, according to this iudgement of Isidore He whom the Latines cal Senior (saith he) is yet in his greenesse, and hath not shaken off the dispositions and dispoꝛtes of youth, by which occasion Ouid sayth such men are betwene yong men and old me. For, according to the Latines, *Adolescentior* meaneth not him, that is more than a yong man, but signifyeth suche one as is not yet entred into Mans estate, euen as Senior resemblith him that hath not yet challenged Old age.

The condition of this discourse, wherein the authour
is resoluēd that there be but
three ages.



This hath bene the chiefest industrie of the Philosophers treating of ages, to establish how manye there were, and howe long euerie age that was to be limitted mighte endure. But the Poets haue gone further, as diuiding euerie age in thre parts, assigning properly his beginning, his myddle, and his end, according to the doctrine of Aristotle, that al things are drawen into those thre. These may bee referred to *Puerilitas*, *Adolescentia*, and *Iuuentus*, assigning to euerie part of them their names, as in the partition of *Adolescentia*, wee maye vse the First estate, the Perfect estate, and the State declining.

Touching *Iuuentus*, which begins at eight and twentie yeares, and continueth til fiftie, contayning in number two and twentie, there woulde fall to euerie parte seauen yeares, and somewhat more. And so the seauen first yeares may appertaine to the first youth. The second seauen yeares continuing till two and fortie, or thereabout, maye be referred to youth perfecte or thoroughlye growne. And the seuen last yeres continuing to fiftie, are attribu-
ted

to youth declining or decreasing. These ages thus distinguished by parts and names, are diuided euen as is the life of man, whiche is reduced into these thre parts, beginning, middest, and end. The beginning containes the first part of the lyfe, in the whiche man riseth, still growing and increasing. The seconde parte whiche is the meane, challengeth that estate of man that is fully growne whiche appeareth in his middle age. In the last parte lyeth the state declining, as in whiche man beginnes to decaye and lose his naturall force. This distinction is also obserued in all ages: so, they haue their beginning, which is the first part: and the middest, being an estate best disposed: so, then is man in his flower and perfection, and the bodie hath then his best perfection, when man is establisshed in his middle age.

This manner of diuision of ages into thre, is verie familiar with the authours, who assigne to euerie part his particular name. The thre names afoze recited haue taken theyr beginning of M. Varro, to whom Seruius wrote them vpon the first booke of the *Aeneidos* of Virgil. But others vsing comun phrases, call these parts by these names, first, middle, and last: among whome Salust sayeth that Mithridates comming to the crowne in his last Puerilitie, kylled his mother: that age lasteth seauen yeares, beginning at seuen, and continuing till fourtene, and so diuiding it into thre partes, euerie part containes two yeares, and some what moze: and therfoze we establishe the laste Puerilitie betwene twelue and thirtene yeares, that is to say, about foure monethes within the twelfth yere and it may continue til the end of the fourteenth moneth, in which age Mithridates began to raigne.

Some call Verdure or Greenenesse the beginning of all ages and that by the resemblaunce of trees, who first appeare græne afoze they beare fruite: and in experience and operation of nature we see euerie beginning of the age is græne and liuely. To the same meaning speaks Virgil who describing the state and constitution of the body of Eurialus, sayth he was excellent in beautie & in the greenenesse of youth, as if he hadde sayde hee was in hys firste youthe. This distinction is not obserued onely in ages, but also in the foure seasons of the yere, that is in Spring time, in Summer, in Autume, and in Winter: all which seasons suffer their diuision
 S. into

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into three partes, even by the meanes that the ages are distinguished. For, in common speech, we giue unto Summer his firste beginning, his middest which is called the harte, and the latter parte of summer. This diuision carrieth great congruencie of reason, for that euerie season of the yeare comprehendes three monethes, and the course of the Sunne three signes of the Zodiack. The beginning of Summer which is in the first moneth, is called The first Summer, because he is as yet but newly challenged. The middle parte which is in the second moneth, is The harte and perfecte parte of Summer, as being then in his greatest force and vertue. The ende and third part of Summer which is in the thirde moneth, is called The latter part or declining time of Summer, as in which season the heate vanisheth, and leauing the property of Summer, it is conuerted into the nature of Autumne: the same happening also to the other seasons of the yeare, according to the consent of the Astrologians, who speake of the seasons according to the nature and property of the signes by the which the Sunne passeth, during the said seasons, which causeth the diuersitie of times. And as there be three signes in euerie season by the which the Sunne passeth in three moneths: so haue the authours attributed three names to euerie season according to the three signes which reigne in the same. As in Summer there be the signes of Cancer, Leo, & Virgo, where of the first is moving, the second fixed, and the third common. The first is called moving, for that the season is chaunged into it by conuersion of the Spring time into Summer. The second is fixed, resting firme aboade and stabilitie: for that whilst the Sunne is in this signe, the Summer remaineth in his essence, and is not changed into any other season. The third is called common, for y whilst the Sunne is there, the season holdes of the nature of Summer which passeth, and inclineth to Autumne which commeth. The same may be sayde of other seasons, and they resembled in convenient property to the ages of mans life.

Considerations for iudges criminall, expressed in a familiar letter from one friend to an other, wherein is vſed a neceſſarie authoritie of a Philoſopher.



Cicero in his diſcourſe *De amicitia*, holds this opinion, *Si omnia facienda ſunt quæ amici vellent, tales non ſunt amicitia ſed coniurationes*, If wee ſhoulde accompliſhe al things (ſaith he) as well good as yll whiche our friends require of vs, ſuch friendſhip might rather be called coniuration of the wicked, than confederation of the good. For albe it the lawe of friendſhip is hardly reſtrained to limitte: yet it is an error to make it an office paſſible to all actions without diſtinction of things, and conſideration to the qualitie of perſons. Yea, wee muſt loue our friends no further thā ſeemeth, that is, for our friends we muſt not corrupt religion nor conſcience. Scaurus and Catiline the tyrant of Rome, and Brutus and Caſſius, the murderers of Cæſar, helde greate league and confederacie together, but in no ſorte they coulde be called friendes: for that there can be no true amitie where is no vertue: and that friendſhippe is moſt accurſed and infamous, where menne become friendes, to the ende to be enimies to others. I am bolde (Sir) to vſe thys entrie into the anſwere of youre laſte letter, by the whyche you ſeeme to putte mee in remembraunce of your friendſhippe and my ancient fidelitie, hauing occaſion nowe, more than euer, as you ſaye, to make triall of your friendes, to ſee if they will ſauour your abſence, with the ſame affection, wherewith they were wonte to faune vpon you in your preſence. For my parte, I eſteeme my ſelfe of no leſſe fidelitie than you ſuppoſe, and doe confeſſe the honourable friendſhippe you beare mee, but vnder this condition, that you doe nothing worthe of rebuke, nor vnworthe to be defended: ſince in a magiſtrate, albeit there maye be many things to be amended, yet he ought to doe nothing worthe

There can
be no amiti-
e where is
no vertue.

The magi-
strat ought
to doe no
thing of di-
shonour.

Science and
experience
the two pri-
cipal pillars
that vphold
common
weales.

No rebellio
excusable.
That pardon
is wicked,
which bring-
eth with it
hazarde of a
countrie.

of dishonour, nor to deserve blame. It brings no small griefe vnto
me, to heare what faultes are heaped againste you touching your
gouernement in those partes, assuring you, that if you had receiued
counsell of the doctrine of the Philosopher, you hadde not broughte
such passions to your friendes, nor to your person such infamie and
perill. Men that manage estates, or take charge to gouerne comon
weales, ought to bee circumspect in that they doe, and skilful to vnder-
stande what they iudge: seeing that science and experience are
the two principall pyllers that vpholde common weales. We see
many, who albeit they haue read ouer the whole volumes of the la-
wes, yet when they leaue the vniuersities and come to administer
affayres of estate, they discouer no small imperfections: so that he
deserues not fully the name and reputation of a counsellour at law,
that knoweth onely the bodie of the lawe, but hee which can applie
it in time and place: seeing that to learne science a certaine discourse
of time sufficeth, but to put it to conference and vse, there is requi-
site a deepe and assured iudgement. And therefore all humaine la-
wes being grounded moze vpon reason than opinion, it happeneth
oftentimes, that the man of the countrie replenished with experi-
ence, holdes better course in gouernement and iudgement, than the
graduate rayled to degrees of learning, by the customes of the vni-
uersitie. But now to debate with you somewhat moze particular-
ly, as I haue alwayes helde you in the opinion of a man wyse and
learned, and also a iudge and counsellour resolute: so, by your late
abuses in those partes, heaped against you in great claunder here, I
am eyther otherwise than I was wonte to be, or at leaste you are
not the same that I haue alwayes esteemed you, seeing that hauing
commission from the Prince to chastise a seditious rebell both in
bodie and goodes, you are accused to haue abused your authoritie
with suspected fauoure to his person, and corrupte affection to his
house and goodes. Hauing bene so long a Counsellour, it is time
for you to knowe that no rebellion is excusable, no thoughe the op-
pression be intollerable: and it is as due iustice in the Prince to ex-
ecute a rebell, as to defende an innocente: seeing hee doth but blowe
the brande of sedition vpon the head of the doers, and so burneth
them with their proper fire. Wh that pardon is wicked which bring-
eth wyth it the hazarde of a countrie, as on the contrarie, mooste
happie

happie is that punishments wherein is wrought the safetie of the state. To disobey the Prince, for not to breake or passe the law: or to infringe the law, to obey the Prince, be things that happen: albeit they ought not to be done. But (according to y^e proprietie & effect of your action) to disobey the Prince, and be bold to breake the law: I know not holwe better to referre it, than to mere contempt and folly: for that in all ages and estates, that hath bene a iust obseruation of the lawe, when he that was a traytour to the Prince, and a troubler of the Realme, was executed bothe in gods and life, and his house razed. But you haue not onely fauoured the life of the rebell, with a suspected respite of his person, but also as one entised with the beautie of hys sayre house, you haue not defaced it as a monument of his offence, but seemed to reserue it for your speciall vse and profite: wherein you are farre from the direction of the Philosopher. *Nunquam debet fieri iudicium in conspectu obiecti de quo indicandum est.* If it happen (sayth he) that any faire or rich thing fall into fault, let it not stand afore the eyes of the iudge when hee is to pronounce sentence, least a couetous compassion of the thing preuayle aboue the vertue of equitie and reason. Homere recites, that amongst the Princes of Troy: there was great question, whether they should sende home againe faire Helene to hir husband or not: in which dispute (suche was the incertaintie of their affections) they condemned hir being absente, but estwoones resolved hir when she stode afore them, bearing such compassion to hir present beautie, that they had no power to doe iustice. Iosephus likewise in his discourse of the warres of the Jewes, sayth, that the Emperour Titus hauing subdued the countrey of *India*. and taken the great citie *Hierusalem*, when he beheld with iudgement the rich and stately temple of Solomon, the presence and maiestie of the thing carried him into that compassion, that much lesse that he suffered it to be defaced or razed, seeing hee gaue streight order that no pillage or spoyle shoulde be offered to it, till hee were gone out of *Asia*, and returned to *Rome*. In like sort it is written in the firste booke of the Kings, that GOD commaunded King Saule to arise and putte to the sword the Prince of the Amalechites, and al the men, women, and cattle

without exception which he founde : but Saul being subiecte to a corrupt pitie, killed onely al the leane, weake, and deformed catel, sparing suche as were faire and fatte: for whiche disobedience the Lord was moued to anger, and the king depriued of his kingdom. The good Consull Marcus Marcellus seeing the noble Citie of Sarragoce burning, commaunded to quench the fire, esteeming it greate losse to burne things so faire and goodly. But if these noble men and also your Lordship had wel studied the rule of Aristotle, That the thing riche and faire ought not to stande in the eyes of the iudge at the time of sentence, theyr error had not ben so generall, nor your fault so apparaunt : with whom, seeing you are equall in offence, it is good reason you communicate in paine and punishment. Wherin it can not grieue me a little, y hauing in your hande the sword of iustice ; with credite to examine and execute, you haue turned your dutie into disobedience, and your office into negligence : the same giuing occasion to the kings officers here not only to accuse you, but iudge you unable to wield authoritie, and not worthe of place in the administration of affaires: esteeming you no better than a traytour, for that you haue forborne to punish treason. But the mischiese being happened, I wish you remember, that in cases of offence, the next way to reconcilement, is the offer of satisfaction or submission: assuring you, that of a mynde so gracious as is the kyngs, there is no offence so greate which can not be eyther pardoned or excused :

wherein, as most of your friendes here, are trauelled to lament your misfortune, so for my part, you shall

finde me to labor to restore you to fauour, not

doubting but if you will expresse true

repentaunce, I wil procure

you franke and rea

die foregiue

ness.

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A discourse of the antiquities of Corinth, with
an exposition of the prouerbe, *Non*

enim contigit adire Corin-
thum.



Here is in the greater *Asia*, a Province
neare to the confines of *Greece*, called *Achaia*
of *Cadmus* who firste raigned therein : it
makes a turning in, or straite of the Sea,
neare to the mount *Alinius*, where be two
goodly hauens in old time named *Tritonius*
and *Magus*, readie succours for ships com-
ming from the East, as wherein they maye
enter safely, and ride without perill. The auncient histo-
rians appointed to recoorde the monumentes of the golden worlde, write,
that *Acolus* of *Greece*, had a sonne called *Sisiphus*, of great and sub-
tile experience all the dayes of his life, in robbing and stealing,
and of a wonderfull boldnesse to any vnlawfull enterpryse. This
man for the securitie and retraite of himselfe and his companiōs,
builded a fortreasse as an harborough to receiue his spoyles and
pillages. He planted it at the foote of the hill *Iosinus* right vpon a point
of the sea, to the ende if he were pursued by the sea, he might seeke
his safetie on shore, and being inuaded by land, he might haue safe
passage by sea. This fort he called *Eshure*, which signifyeth in the
Syrian tong, Strength, or Defence. For, to the same he brought all
his spoyles, and out of the same he issued alwayes to do his ro-
beries: but practising that trade both by sea and lande for the space
of fiftie and thirtie yeares, in the ende he fell into the correction of
iustice, and payd the due retribution of his merites, together with
his confederates, the forte also which they had made for their de-
fence being defaced and razed. Not many yeares after, were dig-
ged in the same place by more mariners, certaine caues for their
retraite, and also to giue succour to passengers sayling that way,
the same bringing no smal reliefe to straungers, and great com-
moditie to the more mariners.

Sisiphus a
great rob-
ber.

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It hapned about that time, that the Prince Corinthus onely sonne to the king Orestes, being driuen out of his course by tempeste and rage of sea, arryued at that porte muche dyskempred and wearie, and was receiued of the porte mariners to his great relief and comforte. This Prince Corinthus was young, valiaunte, dyspoled, and very rich, and from his youth trayned by his father to scumme the sea and commit ylandes to spoile: by meane of which tyranniss hee was alwayes subiect to many enemies, who gaue him occasion to make there his retrayt and reedifce the forte of Siphus, finding in that place many things to the opportunitie of his trade. Hee made the fort of a great thicknesse, and entrenched it with a moere stately wall building many small houses for habitation and resort of people, calling it Corinthe of the nature of his owne name: so that, the great and famous Citie of Corinth, tyrauntes firste builded it, tyraunts alwayes governed to, and tyrautes lastly destroyed it. The beginning of the riches and wealth of Corinth, proceeded of the spoyle of the famous and goodlie citie of Tyre, which much about that time was reuerfed by the great Alexander, the citizens repairing to Corinth, and carying with them suche greates forzen of merchandize of Asia and Greece, which made Corinth both riche and renoumed. The Salamines, the Athenians, and the Corinthians people very auntient and famous, had long time amongst them great difference and warres, and all so that the enuie of the one coulde not endure the glorie of the other, albeit the estate of Corinth continued longer than the two others. For, first Athens was destroyed by Ptolome and Salamis by Arcades, and lastly Corinth was reuerfed by the Consul Scaurus. It was the chiefe and metropolitane of al the prouince of Achaia, wherin was alwaies holden the resort or residence of the Prince: and in it was alwayes kept the stampe or minte of all the monie that serued the prouince. It happened to Corinth, as oftentimes it chaunceth to other great common weales & Cities, that sometimes it was gouerned by kings, sometymes by tyraunts, and sometymes by popularitie: amongst whom though there was diuersitie of state and dignitie, yet they suffered no difference of rule and policie: for that the Common weale was alwayes vnder tyrannie and oppression.

Amongst

Amongest others, there was in this citie a riche byzaunte, famous, and full of vice, named Herius: he builded in the middell of the Citie a most sumptuous temple, and dedicated it to the goddess Venus, the solicitour and pa'rone of louers and fraile loues, within which cursed temple were inclosed moze than five hundred of the fayrest maydes of *Asia*, whom their parents did there consecrate to the Goddess Venus, to the ende they mighte be louers and stalles to byatwe louers to them, holding hir for most religious and holie, which was most amorous and dissolute. And vpon condition that they issued not out of the house, euerie one of them had libertie to sinne, accompanying with whome she liked best, and in what sozte she woulde: so that their religion consisted not to be good women, but to be most kepte in, and not goe abroade, vsing their priuate houses, not to straitnesse and chastitie of life, but to a libertie to sinne without controlement. This law was wel obserued amongst them, that if any of them were disposed to take a husbände, she should first gaine hir marriage portion by the sweate and infamie of hir bodie: hauing withall this soule prerogatiue, that being married, she might also call vnto hir the companie of a friende, for that, being consecrated to the Goddess of Loue, they woulde not lose their names nor practise of Louers. Their filthinesse was so great, that they could byoke no societie of a wife or widowe in that colledge: but receyued all maydes, who in shorte time, of virgins dedicated, became women abandoned. They were cunning in musicke, and studied stozies and booke of loue, which to their beautie and youth, gaue suche further power of enticement, that there were none escaped their handes, whiche were not eyther plumed or plucked.

The hytories beare witnesse, that there was no people nor prouince in all *Asia*, where was greater resozt and traffique of all merchandize than at *Corinth*, and where was better workmanship of golde, siluer, leather, byasse, and other mettall: and about the citie was great aboundance of cozne, wine, oyle, honie, saffron, silke, linen, and so many sorts of commodieies, that the inhabitants would vaunte, that it was a region moze conueniente for the Gods, than wo'thie of men. And for flesh, fische, and spices, comming as well by sea as lande, it was so prodigally furnished, that it made the ci-

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tizens swell in vice and sinne, and gaue occasion to straungers to
 be moze effeminate and delicate. And therefore, as well by the
 occasion of the golde and siluer that there was stamped, the scar-
 let, silke, and fine coloured cloth there made: as also the libertie
 of vices annexed to the place, there was suche haunt and frequen-
 tation of diuers nations, that in greatnesse, Corinth seemed a
 seconde Babilon, and in aboundance an other Memphis. The
 liberalitie and freedome of the place, drew many, not onelye cuts
 of Asia, but from the furthest parte of Europe, to inhabite Co-
 rinth, to whome was gyuen suche reputation of wealth and dig-
 nitie, that if there were any manne in anye parte of Asia, verys
 wealthye and riche, he was called by a common Phraze, a Cor-
 inthian. Also in thys Citie dwelte and dyed the mosse faire and
 famous Courtizan Lais, whose loue was the guide that ledde ma-
 ny menne to their destruction. Of thys woman it is wrytten, that
 she was of goodlye personage, hir aspecte swete and drawing, hir
 speeche gracious and pleasing, hir haire aborne and disposed into
 lockes, honourable in liberalitie, sumptuous in attire, temperate
 in reasoning, and graue in aunsweres, and lastly, altogither gy-
 uen to amorous conuersation, by occasion whereof she was sou-
 ghte vnto, not onelye by the greate Princes of Asia, but euen
 by the mightiest Potentates of Europe, making greater indur-
 tie to be receyued into hir service, than to atchieue any greate
 enterpryse. Amongest others, the Philosopher Demosthenes,
 practising a couenaut of loue with hir, and shee demaunding a
 greater summe of money perhappes than agréde with his abili-
 tie, hee aunswered, that hee woulde not so dearly buy the hazard
 of his person and honour, in a thing whyche he shall no soner
 haue done, than he feeleth the sting of remorse and repentaunce.

In the consideration of all these things it maye be presuppo-
 sed, that the proverbe toke his inuention by one of those three rea-
 sons. The firste, that as the Citie of Corinth was riche and plen-
 tiffull in varietie of merchandize, furnished wth victualles, and
 full of vices: so it happened, that manye, of the mosse parte, of
 such as drew thither out of diuers and farre Countries, eyther
 they dyed by the way, or perished in the sea. The seconde, by
 reason of the same of Lais remaining there, manye Princes and
 great

great lordes of sundrie regions cōming thither for hir seruice, returned so wel plumed, as she had wherewith to smile, and they good occasion to complaine. The third reason may be referred to the Temple of the Goddess Venus, beautified with fūe hundred faire amorous maydes, to whom many resorting, many perished, and many byting of such baytes, many swallowed by the poyson of theyr destruction, and left behind them their life and goods. So that we may conclude, that of these occasiōs rose this common adage, Take heede of going to Corinth, beware what you do at Corinth, for Corinth is not for all men. As also the Proverbe, *Non omnium est adire Corinthum*, spzong either by the daunger to come thither, or by the occasion of the amorous Laies dwelling there, or by the religion of the temple of the infamous maydes, or lastly by the liberty of vices suffered in the citie.

That we ought rather to present before God the
loue which we beare him, than the ser-
uices we do to him.



LAzarus one of the notablest of Ierusalem, & a secrete disciple of Iesus Christ, & brother to Martha and Marie, being grievously sick, his sisters wrote to Iesus Christ a letter, containing onely these few wordes, Lord, he whome thou louest, is sick: at the contemplation whereof, Iesus Christ, not without great contrarietie of his folowers, and no small perill to his person, determined to go and comfort the two desolate sisters, and raise againe Lazarus, amazing the world with a miracle right high and excellent. And albeit the Pharisees were in conspiracy against him, and the Iewes troubled: albeit his apostles were in feare, and his disciples not wel assured: yet immediately after he had considered all the louing wordes of the letter, he forgot all feare, & turned the present view of so many perils, into an inward seruencie of zeale and loue. And albeit in cases of petition, it can not be amisse to vse persuasions of deuotion at large: yet God knowing the qualitie and intention of the heart, requires not
so

Ecce quem
amas infir-
matur.

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so much copie of speech, as humilitie of the spirite, as appeareth by the manner of this letter, whiche neither in the beginning, nor in the ende, nor in the matter, contayned but the wordes alsoresaid: giuing vs to vnderstand, that hauing our loue once fired in God, it sufficeth to make vnto him only a signe, without troubling him with importunitie of wordes, since such as be true louers and praisers in the matters of loue, oughte more to thinke thā speake. Great is the difference betwene the loue whiche we beare to Iesus Christ, and that he beareth to vs, as is wel proued in the zeale of these two holie women, who durst not communicate with Iesus Christ the loue that they bare him, and much lesse the affection of their brother: only they referred him to the loue whiche he bare vnto Lazarus, saying: He whom thou louest &c. The better to make vs know, that if the Lord did not put in the ballaunce of our iustice, some little peyle or weight of his loue, he would giue vs but little, seeing our loue is so small a thing. The vaine louers of the world haue this custome, to reproche the affection they beare one to another, whiche muche lesse that it is tollerable amongst the seruantes of God, seeing they ought to make so small accēt of their loue, as not to demaunde any thing they pretende but by the meane and vertue of his loue. For, so high and soueraigne is the commaundement of the loue of God, that only in this mortall life we can not scarcely learne it, and in the other world of ioyes fully accomplishe it. *Facti sumus ut mundi, & omnes iustitia nostra sub quasi pannus &c.*

Esay speaking of the multitude of his finnes, and his litle merite, speaking also in the person of sinners, cryeth out: The Synagogue and I are vncleane and great sinners, and what good works soeuer we feeme to haue done, after they come to be examined in the sight of God, they beare such staines, infection, and corruption, that we finde our owne shame to present them afore him. Wherin the Prophet hath great occasion to exclaime, that all our desires and affections are fleshly and corrupt, seeing that with the selfe same heart wherewith we oughte to loue God, we loue also our children, our neighbours, and our parentes: yea, sometimes we transference that affection to our vnlawfull friends, seeking out of one moule to drawe an apple of golde, and bollets of Earthe.

But

But the loue which God beares vs is not of such fraile condition, seeing (as hath bene said) he loues vs with the selfe same zeale hee loues himselfe, so inuoluing vs in his proper affection, that as of himselfe he is but one, so he hath but one selfe and infallible affection, notwithstanding, such as he fauoureth moste, he followeth with a strong zeale, and the others with a loue not so seruent. So that, it is good we stand at this resolution, that when the Lord calls vs to accompt, we doe not recomende vnto him the seruices wee haue done, but rather to put him in remembrance of the great affection we haue borne him. For other wise, if he bestow on vs one onely day of life, it is sufficient for the hire and recompence of all our transitorie time.

Eme à me aurum ignitum ut locuples fias, saith God to the Bishop of *Laodycia*, as it is set downe in the text of the Apocalypse: Thou Apoca 3. which art poore and hast a desire to be rich, I aduise thee to come & buy of the fine gold which I haue freshly purifyed and drawne out of the furnace, and do kepe it within my treasure. What meaneth this, that the Lord hath spoken, that who will not renounce all that he possesseth can not be his disciple, and yet he inuites vs to his shoppe to buy fine golde? And albeit he commaunde vs to buy any thing, why must it necessarily be golde: though the ware we buy be gold, why ought it to be so fine: and being so fine, wherefore persuaides he vs to buy it only of him? And comming to buy it of him, why doth he sel it so flaming and burning: and although we must buy it burnyng, why hath he not set a price and weight of it: and seeing he inuites men to buy it, why doeth he not sette it out with more praise and commendation? But such are the gracious meanes and bountie of the Lorde, that he speaks not to vs as a maister to his seruants, but as a brother, vsing the nature and phrase of a very familiar and gracious friend.

By this we haue to consider, that by how much, gold is a thing most esteemed, best beloued, and of all other riches with greatest importunitie desired: by so much loue is the vertue that most delights vs, that aboue all other we honour, and that more than any other doth content vs. For the heart that is inflamed with the loue of **G D D**, makes a base estimation of all the other riches

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riches and treasures of the world, & of all the particuler things vnder heauen, lone could not be better resembled than to Golde, no: golde more equally compared than to lone. For, as there is nothing how rich soeuer it be, whiche is not to bee bought with golde: so, if lone be the worker, there is nothing so hard and difficult, which by the operation of lone is not made easie and possible: wherby it followeth, that the hart which is wounded with lone, takes his rest and solace in seruice, and in reaping, takes pain and trauaile: and therefore hee that loueth and makes difficultie to doe that hee is commaunded, & searcheth excuse in things hee is required, that manne deserueth not to be called a lover, but a scorner: suche one hathe no hearte of Golde, but a minde fashioned of dross and filthe: seeing that in the house of GOD, and wher his lone is in office, there ought to be no excuse of thinges required, no: deniall to doe that is commaunded. Wh, that GOD giues a great grace to that man, on whome hee bestoweth a hearte of masse and weightie gold: as of the contrarie, wretchednesse is his portion whose hart is vaine, light, and hollowe: against such men the prophete beares witnesse, *Cor eorum vānū est*: so: that the heart is the fornice wherin are framed all our desires and passions, and the forge whereon are beaten all our trauailes and actions. God sayth then, that that which he selleth vnto vs, is no other thing than gold inflamed, that is, gold purified and burning: wherein is giuen vs to know, that from the instante that the lone of God hath touched our hart, it wil alwayes burne, it wil alwayes pray, it wil alwayes sigh, and it will neuer ceasse to lone: the lone of God being of such qualitie, that in what mind so euer he makes his aboad, he wil not suffer to remaine any yll, wickednesse, or ydenesse. Gold inflamed is sure the lone of the Lord, seeing that with his sparkling flames it kindleth our vnderstanding, inflameth our hearte, warmeth our will, and burneth to ashes our offences: yea, at the heate of that fire, the electe are warmed and the reprobate smothered: but the zeale of the louers of the worlde is not golde inflamed, so: that it is intangled with this propertie to burne without warming, and to make wearie without resting, it scorseth and not purifyeth, it terrifyeth and not assureth, and killeth wythout remedie. The metal

tal whyche is solde in the shoppe of the worlde is not golde but leade, is not substance but scumme, yea, it is rather drosse than golde, seeing that suche as loue with the affection of the worlde, are euen those that come out of it, in the ende moste smeared and corrupted.

The loue which the Lord selleth is not onely Golde inflamed, but very well refined and proued. The firste p[ro]u[er]se passed in hym selfe in the tre of the Crosse, and receiued confirmation by y^e martyrdom of S. Peter, and others, by whose passions and tormentes the loue of Iesus Christ was well ratified and approued: *Quando apostoli ibant a conspectu concilij, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Iesu contumeliam pati.* Righte worthilye was approued within their hearts the loue of Christ, seeing they went to they^r execution better contented and glad, than all the Princes of the worlde, when they go to receiue the crowne of a kingdome. Righte well was approued the loue of Iesus Christ within the heart of Saint Paule, when he saide, *Ego Paulus vincit in domino* holding himselfe moze happie to be fettered in chaines for the loue of God, than if he had bene raysed to the greatest principallitie of the earth. Touching the loue of the worlde, fraile, and vaine, with greater reason we may call it reprobated, than approued, seeing one man loues not another, but for the respect of interest and commoditie. So that as the seruantes of God loue him with all their power, including no other reason than the consideration of his greatnesse and merrie: so worldly men loue one another no longer, nor no moze than there is possibilitie of gaine and recompence. and therefore deserueth to be called an affection reprobate, for that it beares regarde to the benefit and nat to the matter: In this part of the text, we haue also to consider, that the Lord willeth vs not to buy golde of any other than of him, offering it to vs of himselfe both purified and burning, and al to instruct vs, that it is he onely of whom we are to obtaine grace to loue him, and loue to serue him. Besides, this golde of the loue of the Lorde will not be communicated to vs for nothing, least we should esteeme it little: neyther is it to be sold to vs at a deare price, to the end we refuse it not, and muche lesse will it be prised, because it is without value and estimation: only al that is required of vs, is, that we retribute vnto the Lord, loue

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loue for loue, and giue our affection in recompence and change of his. And seeing our loue is ambitious and blinde in worldlye things, and altogether caried to light and straunge desires: let not that man thinke he giues little, who vnto Iesus Christe giues his whole heart. And he, since he selleth not to vs but loue sincere and holie, let vs not in enterchaunge returne to him affections fayned, infected, and doubtful. Great is the zeale of Christe, who being loue, and the better to leade our affections, he teacheth vs how to loue. The Lord make vs, as we ought to be, to the ende we may the better minister to his commandements and seruice: and seeing he is the true Lord that hath made vs of earth, and referred vs eftsones to the destinie of the earth, and that we haue nothing to giue in exchaunge for his loue of golde, but a small affection, and that canckered and infected: let vs beseech him, that our corrupte drosse maye bee made acceptable to hym, and his precious and purifyed golde become profitable to our saluation.

A shorte letter, partly in rebuke, and partly
in persuation.



When the miserie of others will not make you keepe a meane with your fortune nor the experience of harmes past, touch you in example and warning: I see no other safetie remayning, than may be hoped for in a shippe, whiche tossed with many stormes, seekes hir security where the sea goeth most high & raging: but being happie in friends, you liue carelesse of chaunces, esteeming your selfe subiect to the sentence of Solomon, That that which the euill man feareth shall assuredly happen vnto him. I vnderstande by your messenger the state of your perplexitie, together with the possibilitie of your peril, if present policie be not vbled: for the which I am so much the more sozie, by how much our friendship is auncient: and so much the lesse carelesse, by how much it ministreth interest to our com-

mon

mon alliaunce : (two qualities of suche fast conunction, that nothing can dissolue them, soz that alliaunce is congeled in the bloude, and friendship makes his knot in the hearte.) And touching the regard of a friende, I marvel I haue not hearde of you thus long, for that amongst friendes, when their persons are diuided, the next office is to communicate by intelligence: but remembzing that forgetfulnesse is a swete error, I haue long since cut of all expectation to heare from you, specially since you haue dedicated your selfe to sanctuaries, churchyardes, and churches of refuge, where I thinke you establishe your resozt, not so muche soz deuotion and remorse, as to giue colour to some abuse and wzong. Remember that to offend God, and disobey iustice, is an act so duelye deseruing punishment, y there is no doubt of the reuenge though not vpo y person of the immediat offender, yet vpo the posteritie & generation of his house: this being an infallible rule in the reuenge of God, that when he deferreth, he striketh with moze behevience, redoubling the blowe according to the time he spareth to strike. I pray you tel me, if it be yll done to hurte another, why is it your practise? And if it be a vertue to make restitution, why sozbeare you to satiffie the wzongs you haue done? For my part, I can not account it eyther to honour oz valiauncie, soz a man to put him selfe in necessitie soz the safetie of his person, elchuing the face of iustice: no moze is it wisdome in any man to offer hys life to perill in hope of remedie. I doubt whether at this instant, you stande in greater necessitie of counsel than of reliefe, soz that they be two miseries y to go ioynntly with afflictions. Amogst al your other friends debating of your fortune, I pray you thinke y to giue you counsel I am verie yong, and to minister to your wantes, I am a religious man: and yet, by the vertue of our friendship, I can not but sende to you, though not to satiffie you, yet to shewe my selfe carefull, saying, that seeing my facultie stretcheth no further, you will accepte my good will: since y who gineth what he hath, can shew no greater liberalitie. Touching your businesse, I wish you to withdrau your selfe from thence, and be moze familiar here, by which meane you shal be further diuided from your aduersaries, and finde your Iudges moze fauourable: the same being also a degre to appease the myndes of your enemyes, if you ceasse to searche them further, that bring

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the greatest reuenge you can giue to make small estimation of your enemies. There is no loue that weareth not, nor hatred that enoeth not, if we giue place to time, and cutte occasions from vs. For, as trade at tyme carrieth with it a lawe of forgetfulness of things past, so when the louer discontinueth, and the enemy is absent, loue is turned into forgetfulness, and hatred into a mountain of smoke. Who will be free from blame, muste not onely forbear to do y^e, but eschue y^e suspicion: euen so to purchase quiet, it is good to do no wrong, but to keepe vs from quarrel, it is necessarie to cut off occasions.

By the importunitie of your request to sollicite your cause, you seeme to holde my friendship suspected: wherein your error is so much the greater, by how much you know your businesse findes fauour by my diligence and industrie. And your selfe can giue good testimony, that from the beginning my friendship hath bene greater than your merite: and in my care and counsell haue consisted the whole course of your well doing: so that I wishe your condition bettered, than to be better in hatred, and suspicious in friendship. You ought to knowe, that in all things there is a meane, but in the conuersation of a friend, with whom this is chiefe to be obserued either altogether to forsake him, or wholly to trust him, assuring you that that man is no friende, that retaineth distrust, seeing friendship requireth faith and merite. Amongst true friendes nothing ought to be reiected, nor any thing to deserue suspicion. And albeit it is not out of policie to stande in distrust and doubt of our enemy: yet so simple ought we to be towards our friende, as in his bosome to powre our secretes, and not to be iealous of any counsell he giueth, since true friendship can brooke no distrust, and where is no treason there can be no possibilitie of deceit.

A letter to a deintie Ladie false sicke for the death
of hir little dogge.



Maemie, taking the opportunitie as it is, I am bolde to write to you, not so muche to comfort your sorrowe, as to rebuke the occasion, esteeming me so muche the lesse apt to minister remedie, by howe much your disease is particular, lighte, and fantastike. Amongst suche as are sicke, it is a readie degree to amendement, to reape hope in their Physician: even so, where the cause is moze than natural, there the office of the Physician is but vaine, so that the patient languisheth moze by opinion than by infirmitie. It il becomes the Physician to laugh at the griefe of his patiente, and yet the cause being sounde vaine and easie, there is no reason he shoulde make sorrowe where the cure is neither desperate nor doubtful: and moze both it concerneth the comforte of the sicke, that he be merrie with the passion of his patient, than to dissemble a heavinesse in that, whiche of it selfe is both light and frivolous. It hath bene alwayes a condition of the world, that where some perished, others sounde lastie, where one receiued honour, another suffered infamie: and where some finde cause to smile and laugh, others are followed with teares and weeping, all proceeding of the instabilitie and change that followeth all the thinges of the world. And as in one place of the sea, we see the water calme and mild, and in an other full of tempest & storme, and one parte of the land disposed to diuersitie of weathers, and an other quarter all cleare and resolved: so it happeneth manye times to the children of men, that according to their diuersitie of complexions, they bring forth varietie of passion, some suffering sickness when others enioy health, many subiect to melancholy, whē others delight to be merrie: and sundrye feele the headach with laughing, when the rest gette sore eyes with teares and weeping. So that it being a thing sure, that calmes succede stormes, and stormes followe faire weather, it is good that none swell and rise high in prosperitie, and muche lesse be doubtfull in aduersitie: so that in the

ende, there is no perplexitie which weareth not, nor any pleasure which loseth not his proper qualitie. And as all things are to be taken in one of these three sortes, either to lament them, laughe at them, or dissemble them: so, good Madame, your passion (rising but for the losse of your little dogge) deserueth more to be laughed at than dissembled, seeing that as you loued it vainely, so, though you weepe for it, yet your sorrowe can not be but lighte. Our mother Eue sorrowed for hir sonne Abel, and Marie Magdalen wept for hir sinnes: but you bearing little compassion to your present offences, and lesse consideration to your vertues passe, forbear not to shed teares for the losse of your little dogge: a passion heretofore neuer expressed by any, and much lesse conuenient to your reputation and grauitie: for that to great Ladies striving to be holden modest and vertuous, it ought to be a chiefe care to auoyde the imputation of vanitie and lightnesse. And true teares being no other thing than dropes of bloude, whiche distill from the hart by the eyes, there is nothing wherin we can expresse better effect of true affection, than to weepe for the losse of our friend: for that the sorrowfull heart being melted within the entrailes, hauing neither fate to goe, nor hautes to make signes, he manifesteth by mouth that which he loneth, and by his teares, makes declaration of his paine. By whiche argument (good Madame) I say it cannot be but you beare no small affection to your little dogge, seeing you mourne for hym with so greate apparance of sorrowe. The tongue publisheth nothing but our thoughtes, but in the teares is expressed the true propertie of our affection: wherupon it followeth, that though in men and women be founde sometime a custome of fained wordes, yet it can not be but their teares, for the most part are true and simple. And therefore it is a false testimonie againste women, to say, that their teares be alwaies fained, although in this they maye dissemble, when they weepe for one thing, to saye it is for another, being a propertie verie familiar with the moste of them, to haue two colours to one meaning, and (as the saying is) to beare two complexions in one face. This I haue saide for the defence of your sighs, and in favour of your teares, whych I thinke you haue shed with small deuotion, although with very franke and good heart, seeing (according to the reporte) you haue bin euer since trauailed with an ague. and
exerci

exercised in those passions that keepe you continually in your bedde.
 But to use plaintfull (according to my profession) I can not make
 make so much at your teares, as I am soie that so small a thing
 should make you to weepe, being a thing more vertuous to lament
 your sinnes, than to be soie for the losse of your little puppie. And
 I cannot with patience bolde, that being as you are, both noble,
 and honourable, and therewithall reputed wise and vertuous, you
 haue bestowed your loue on a thing so vile and base, seeing that such
 are they that loue, as is the thinge that they loue: so that so
 greate is the ioye of loue, that he that loneth, suffereth conuersion
 into the thing which he loneth, and therefore to loue things reason-
 able belongeth to the affections of men, but in loving things brute
 and insensible, we cannot but be made like vnto them. Your friends
 here beare some shame, that you haue chosen so base a subiect to go-
 uerne your affections, and (not without reason) doe youre enemies
 smile, and your friendes mourne at it, for that it is contrarie to the
 vertue and reputation of any, eyther to fixe their eyes, or occupie
 their thoughtes, but where the hearte maye be wel employed, and
 the loue gratified. The beste parte of the body is the heart, and the
 moste precious iewel of the heart, is the affection, wherby if it be
 not well employed, the partie maye esteeme himselfe unhappie,
 for that in that mā there can be no possibilitie to liue wel, in whom
 is no p:use or meane of honest affection. What p:opertie of loue
 shoulde you beare to your little puppie, from whome you coulde
 draw no other pleasure, than to array your garments wyth haire,
 to make a noise in your chamber when you woulde sleepe, to fill you
 full of fleas, and to be alwayes in feare to be stolen from you, all
 which conclude against your wisdoms, for mourning for a thing
 so harmefull, and of so base importance. To loue a little dogge, a
 monkie, a parrofe, or other singing birde, is not ill, nor dishonest,
 if your affection be ioynd to this condition, not to followe them o-
 therwise, than with your eyes to beholde them, and your eares to
 heare them, not esteeming them worthe of other affections: saying,
 that of suche things we may make our seruice and solace withoute
 jealousy to keepe them, or compassion to lose them: yea, to make
 sorow for suche trifles, exceeds the limits of an honorable Lady,
 & is contrarie to the office of a good christian. Wherein, if I were

the iudge also; who should be debated the tyme you heare to your little dogge, and the transgressions of your life. sure I coulde not but laugh at the follie of the one, and wepe for the offences of the other. It is written; that the great Alexander buried his horse, the Emperour Augustus his Parrot, and Prince Heliogabalus made a graue for his sparrow, at whose obsequies he prayed, and caused y^e bodie to be embawmed. If you had heard or read of these it may be by their example, you woulde haue builde a tumba for your little dogge, although I account to waile purpose the tears you haue let fall for him, than the sepulchres and ceremonies whiche those *Pagans* made for their dead beasts. And so (good Madame) God giue you a spirite to wepe for your sinnes, and a minde to leaue off to mourne for things vaine and transitorie.

To an olde Gentleman enamoured of a young Ladie;
this letter toucheth the perplexities which
amorous dames giue to their seruants,
and friends.



After so long silence, I woulde some better occasion had bene giuen, than to recontinue our auncient quarrel, wherein is no expectation of other effect, than happeneth by the Chirurgian, when hee commeth to reane in an olde wounde, whiche, by how much more it hath discontinued the vse and seruice of plaisters, by so much doeth it bring pain to the patient, suffering the new opening of his hart. And albeit amongst friends there can not be a more necessarie action, than to minister counsel, the same being the first effect of that faith and vertue which ought to be considered in the election of friends: yet, to some men it is hatefull to be counselled in things contrary to their will and affection, esteeming it better to dwell in the luste of their particular desires, than to be warned: euen as the miserable patient findes it sweeter to giue libertie to his wounde, than to suffer it to haue cure with a little paine in the beginning.

But

But for my parte, hauing giouen alwayes to our long friende-
 shippe, an honest care of your welldoing. I cannot holde my selfe
 discharged in office, if I debate not frankly the estate of your an-
 cient abuses, although there remaine no expectation of other fruits
 than hapneth to y^e chirurglo, who coming to uncover an old wound
 long corrupted, seemeth grauous to hys patient. I perceiue by your
 letter you are fallen into a practise of uen loue, which being a new
 hurte to your olde wounde, you seeme also to demaunde a new re-
 medie at my hande, as though I had the facultie, both to let blood
 and close vpp the veine. I woulde I were with you, for that ha-
 uing libertie to communicate, there may be many things spoken,
 which are not conuenient to be w^{ri}tten. But more doe I wishe,
 that you woulde haue v^{is}ited me in an other office, since for matters
 of loue, you are not nowe in age to followe it, and muche lesse is it
 consonant to my grauitie to giue you counsell, my habite, my au-
 thoritie, & my place being al against it. It is not to me & you to wh^o
 it belongeth to sollicite in loue, and muche lesse are we subiectes
 wherein he taketh his delightes, grace, and recreation. For that
 you being load^ed with yeres, and I tyed to my profession, in you is
 exp^{re}sse^d to great debilitie, and in me no lesse want of libertie. We
 leue not that your loue is true loue, but rather sorow: not ioye,
 but perplexitie: not delight, but toym^{en}t: not contentment, but
 grieve: not honest recreation, but very confusion: seeing that in him
 that is a louer must be looked for, youth, libertie, and liberalitie.
 Strawe that is rotten and become dung, is better to satte lande,
 than to laye vppon a house: and in a bodie broken and aged, is more
 vse and seruice of sorow and infirmities, than possibilitie to suf-
 fer, beare passion, and sollicite in loue: for that to Cupide and Ve-
 nus are not acceptable any sorts of people, but younge men to serue
 them, such as are liberall to spare for no cost, patient to endure, dis-
 creete to speake, secrete to conceale, faithfull to deserue, and con-
 stant to continue to the end. It is a miserie to be poore and proude,
 to be reuengfull and dare not strike, to be sicke and farre from suc-
 cour, to be subiect to our enemies, and lastly to suffer perill of life
 without refuge. But for an old man to be in loue, is the greatest
 wretchednesse that can trauell the life of man. For the pooreman
 sometimes findeth pittie, but the old louer standes alwaies reiecte^d.

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The old man standeth ready to beare out his quarrels, but the amorous old man liues alwayes persecuted with passions. Hee that is like liues vnder the climate of Gods prouidence, where the amorous old mans is abandoned of all succour. He that is subiect to his enemies, is not sometimes without his seasons of consolation and quiet, where, to the olde lover is no time of truce nor hope of reconciliation: lastly there is no perill of life so desperate whiche maye not be so resolutely suffered: where the estate of the amorous olde man is alwayes to daunger. He is alwayes vexed with feignes of his Ladie, defaced by his neyghbours, robbed of his seruants, and seruiceable euen to the seasons and appointementes of bandes, who are not without their powders, whose proprietie is to trouble his sleepe on the night, and keepe him iealous on the daye, leading his minde in ague fits: sometimes hote, and sometimes colde, sometimes glad, and sometimes sorrowfull, sometimes doubtful, and sometimes assured, and alwayes in expectation, but neuer satisfied: by meane whereof I holde all the faculties and sciences of the world possible to be learned, but the trade to loue: whiche Solomon was too ignorant to write, and Ouid not able to set down in rule and precept: for that if onely is a doctrine that oughte to be drawn out of the schole of the hart, and guided by true and perfecte discretion. There is nothing that more requireth gouernement than the practise of loue: seeing that in cases of hunger, thirst, cold, heate, and all other naturall influences, they may be referred to passions sensible only to the bodie: but the follies and faultes that are done in loue, the harte is subiecte to suffer, feele, and be wayle them, since loue, more than all other thynges naturall, resayneth alwayes this proprietie, to exercise tyrannie chieselye againste the heartes of his subiectes. The better to establishe stabilitie, assurance, and constancie, it behooueth suche as doe loue to be equall: for, if he be yong, and he olde: if he be priuate, and she a wanderer: if she be a niggarde, and he prodigall: if he ciuil, and she rude: if she discrete, and he foolish: if lastly he loue, and she hate: there is no doubt but vnperfect loues will resolue into iarres, contentions, and continuall disquiets: for that, where is not conformity of condition, there can be no contented loue, no more than where is no true faith, can be no true operation of good life and mayers. It is impossible to an olde man and a lover

to be without sorrow or suspicion: for that ienlouste is ioyned to loue as the bzare is to the rose: and passion followeth old age, as the shadowe doth the man. Why shoulde than a man of your age contayning more than threescore yeares, plucked with aches, and pinched with the gout, seeke the companie of a yong faire and amorous Ladie, who will studie more to plume vpon you, than to please you, esteeming you for no other vse, than to minister to hyr wants, giue colour to hir lightnesse, and protect hir abuses: For, being not able to please hir eye, you must perforce hir prodigalities: and being impotente to delighte hir, your office must be to suffer an other to supplie that whiche you are not able to satisfie. Why desire you the companie of a friende, seeing betweene you and hir can passe no other communitie or conuersation, than to read riddles and dreames, and tel tales, complayning that on the day you haue no stomacke to meate, and on the night you doe nothing but account the houres: an exercise hatefull to women, and a custome intollerable to suche as haue bene enured to men of better complexion. Why seeke you a friend, seeing you haue no power to entertaine hir, no patience to endure hir, nor age to possesse hir: for that amongst women this is infallibly obserued, that if their friend be worse, they disdain him: if he bee waspish, they seeke to bere him further: and being old, they scorne his age, and seeke their recompence of others: What fruite looke you to drawe from a friend, seeing you are not able to tel hir in order the passions you endure for hir, nor the felicities you wishe to hir: all women for the most part inclining to this glorie, to heare of the toymments of their friends, and to see theyr seruants labour to be seruiceable. How can you desire the societie of a friend: seeing, if you write not to hir on the day, you are sure to finde hir frowarde at night: and bestowing no present vpon hir, she wil returne recompence to your discontentment.

For being not courted with songs and letters to extol hir beautie, and not visited with presentes to please hir ambition: Wh, it were more safe to beholde a Cockatrice, than hope for pitie in hir face. Why desire you a friende seeing you muste denye hyr nothing she demaundes, nor mislike with any displeasure she doth to you: For, women being denyed (not considering theyr owne

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vnwoꝝthinesse) construs it to the despise of the partie foꝝ whome they prepare reuenge : and if you make not their displeasure your felicitie, they wil charge you with want of loue, and affronte you with toyes to your perpetual disquiet. Why keepe you a friend, to whom you must not minister, accoꝝding to your poꝝt & behauior, but accoꝝding to hir follie and ambition : foꝝ, a friend mercenarie in loue, is not subiect to allowance, and muche lesse regards the proportion of him that entertayneth hir, but being compounded vpon insatiable humours, she is neuer satisfiꝝed, til she see him vtterly spoyled. Why require you a friende : seeing you must not sayle to thanke hir foꝝ the fauours you receiue, and holde it a due tie to beare hir displeasures. foꝝ, in them though there be but litle merite, yet they looke foꝝ great recompence, and if they do nothing but bere you, yet you must iudge all to the best, and take nothing to blame. Why seeke you a friende : seeing when she flattereth you most, it is not to content you, but vnder this intention to drawe something from you. foꝝ, women to woꝝke theyꝝ desires, can turne themselves into so many subtilties and sugred humilities, as the Cameliõ into colours, oꝝ the iugler into strange deuises, to deceiue the beholders. And if you haue a friende, you must infoꝝce your selfe to laughe, euen when the dolours of your Goute prouokes you most to crie: and alsoe you haue had ful possession of hir, she wil cast you vp loaden with soꝝrowe, care, ielousie, and all other troublesome infirmities, & foꝝ recompence ioyne hir selfe to an other, with whom she wil laugh to see you poꝝe, impotent, deceiued and spoyled. And therfoꝝe to one of your age and subiection to sickenesse, it were better to delight in the conuersation of some honest companion to cherishe and recreate you, than in the companie of a young Ladie to make your dayes troublesome.

Samocratius, Nigidius, and Ouide haue wꝝitten many volumes of the remedie of loue, wherein they rather taughte remedie to others, than founde any themselves : foꝝ that they all thꝝee dyed in persecution, not foꝝ the abuses they committed at *Rome*, but foꝝ the loues they practised at *Capua*. Let them say what they wil, and surmise that beste maye please their fancie, but accoꝝding to experience, the best remedie in loue, is to eschue conuersation,
and

and auoyde occasion : for that of many that folloiw him, there are few free from his bondage, where suche as abandon him liue alwayes in libertie. Take heede therefore you dwell not long in that temptation, seeing it is not conuenient for your soule, your bodie, your honour, nor profite of your house, assuring you that moze shall you hasten your death by the perplexities of your maiestresse, than by the torment or dolour of the gout. And so I praye you keepe me stil in your fauour, and commaunde me alwayes as your owne.

A letter aunswering certaine particular requestes from the court, and that it is not conuenient to visite often those women whose husbands be absente.

It is written, in praise of the liberalitie of Alexander the great, that one Biance a poze souldiour of his, asking some small portion for the marriage of his daughter : he gaue him a citie riche and populous. The greatnesse of the gift so farre exceeded the capacite of the poze souldiour, that he desired Alexander estsones to consider better what he gaue, and to whom he gaue it. For (sayeth he) it may be, youre greatnesse takes me for an other than I am, or at least vnderstandes not what I demaunde. To whom the king aunswered. Take what I giue thee and be contented, since if thou be Biance that askest, I am Alexander that giueth. In like sort the great Queene Cleopatra albeit she was of amorous life, yet other wayes she exercised great liberalities, neuer giuing to any man so litle, which was not sufficient to relieue his present wants, and keepe him from miserie all the rest of his life. These two examles I haue vsed (Sir) to publishe your liberalitie, that sending to you for a small thing, you returned my messenger so loaden with rewardes, that the world may see, that if I haue the pouertie of Biance, in you is

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expressed the liberalitie of Alexander. And by the testimonie of this letter, al men may approue my demaunde, and giue commendation to your boutie, seeing I shewed no ambitio in my request, no; you expressed want of liberalitie in your recompence.

It is not convenient to visit often an other mans wife in the absence of hir husband,

You write to me to aduertise you howe the Ladie Angelo my neighbour and your aunt doth. Since the departure of hyr husband I haue not seene hir, no; meane to goe to hir, vnllesse she send for me: for that, to women whose husbandes are absent, albeit we are bounde to aide them, yet we haue no licence to visite them often: a wife being the dearest of the two things (according to the common saying) which we ought not to lende, no; commit to the trust of any other.

Lucrece, living private, during the absence of hir husbände, fell by force into the rape of Tarquine, by which vile acte, Rome suffered slaunder, the warres broke by, Lucrece killed hir selfe, and Tarquine was destroyed. So that to the wiues of our friendes, it is sufficient to minister to their wants if they haue neede, or protest them, if there be cause of oppression, without visiting them often, and much lesse to entertaine discourses with them: seeing the malice of men is so greate, and the honour of women so delicate, that in often resort the worlde takes occasion to raise hutes, and their husbandes not without aduantage to be discontented. I haue spoken to the Chancellour about your businesse, wherein though you preuaile not to your desire, yet there shal be no faulte in my solicitation. In him that hath businesse in courte, ought neuer to be want of patience, no; to great confidence to trust: for that in court, rewards go not by merite, but by affection, and the success of sutes is moze led by fortune, than by wisdom. In court, we see many reasonable causes that be iust and indifferent reuerfed, euen when they are at point to be resolved: and others of no expectation or hope of ende, to be dispatched to the liking of the partie: so that in Court let no man reappose confidence in the fauour of another, and muche lesse dispaire, if to his sute be ioyned delay or denyall. I haue often delte with the Coronell to receiue your nephue for his lieutenante, and being so often denied, I take it for a discharge no moze to trouble him. For, it is a hard

harde thyng to a liberall mynde and a shamefast face, to bee a suter to him in whom is no merite to be entreated, but specially when he turneth our importunitie to his glozie, and makes vs ashamed of our request: in which respecte there is nothing in this worlde whiche I holde more deare, than that whiche is boughte by sute and requeste: seeing that more doth that man giue which for one houre employeth the shame of his face, than an other that for any other thing shall giue all his goods. The same agreeing with the opinion of Plato, that as greate is the contentment whiche a good hart taketh in giuing, as it is grieve to him that entreatheth and is denyed: for that in giuing, the one buyeth the libertie of another, and in receyuing, the other putteth in subiection hym selfe and all that he hath. Touching the money you sent me for your booke, I haue returned it againe by the bearer, praying you to thinke that the pleasure whiche one friende doth for an other, ought not to be payde with readie monie, but with retribution of equal recompence or value: and by sending to me so little monie so farre off, the worlde may thinke, that either you suffer want of friendship, or in me is lacke of liberalitie. The friendship grounded vpon couetousnesse is ended by couetousnesse, and therefore amongst true friends, there ought to be no ende in friendship, nor limite in liberalitie. Where you write to be aduertised of the affaires of the Bishop of T. I answer that it is no small paine to haue to do with men wanting gouernement, and of no wil to putte their mindes in quiet and tranquillitie: seeing that in whom is no controulment of tong, nor brydle to restraine their selfe wil, in them is for the moste part sufficient occasion to trouble whole common weales where they dwell, and to themselves to bring no smal contentio: yea, there can not be a greater disgrace in a man, than to be discontented in himself. For albeit no man in this worlde can liue contented on all partes, yet, we may eyther quite exempt our selues, or at least auoyde manye of those troubles and displeasures which of our selues we search. There be many people of this nature, not onely not to eschue harmes and inconueniences, but also will put wings to their fortune, and runne to seeke them: soze they be readie to happen. Soze is the necessitie of industrie
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to reſtraine and ſtay ſuch men from doing harme to themſelues, than for auoyding hurte to others. Of that ſort of men is the Biſhoppe of T. who beareth his great affaires, as the ſumpter horſe doth his burthen, who whyleſt it is in laying on his backe, ſtandeth ſtil and ſturreth not, but if you offer to take it off, he yearks and flings as though there were peril towards him. Your I. may be ſorie for the loſſe of our deare friende F.M. who loſing his life, hath left his friendes void of the ſocietie of a noble Gentleman: aſſuring you, & if he had belueued my aduiſe, that miſfortune had not happened: for that I alwayes tolde him, that a faction of the commonaltie, is no other thing than a hollowe Eccho, which reſoundes with a voyce and cleare ſounde, but can not be ſounde, nor beareth no ſubſtaunce. And therefore to men that trauell in the action of great affaires, it is no wiſedome to reiecte the counſell of friends: for that otherwayes, who will not make moderate correction, ſhall be ſure to ſuffer penaunce of a bloudie and bloody ſort.

A diſcourſe touching ſuch as are in the miniſterie and profeſſe religion.

Qui perſeuerauit uſque in finem, ſaluus erit.

Who ſo perſeuereth (or continueth) to the end, ſhall be ſaued.



Sainte Matthew in his ſoure and twentieth Chapter, promiſeth this comfortable recompence to ſuche as follow the ſeruiſe of God in religion, that Who perſeuereth to the end, ſhall be ſaued, and receiue for reward & euerlaſting ioyes of heauē. Wherein albeſt the redēner of the world taughte his diſciples to be Chriſtians (and that in renouncing their proper wills) and tyed them ſtraightlye to the law

law and obseruation of his commaundements: yet, by the doctrine of these words, we see it doth little auaille all that they can doe, if they perseuer not to the ende. But to make moze plaine and easie to the vnderstanding of men, these wordes of Iesus Christe, we must first presuppose, that as many vices are disguised with the similitude of vertues, so, in many vertues, is a plaine face and apperaunce of vice, as patience, constancie, magnanimitie, benigntie, long suffering, humilitie, and so: the truth and proper tie of all which being knowne, we shall finde that euerie one is subiect to his particular and diuers definition. The vertue of patience is no other thing than a hart martyred in sorowes and passions, expressing notwithstanding in his outward actions, a spirit of contentment and gladnesse, and not only beareth his present perplexities, but also is prepared to the passion of all suche as maye happen. Of this sort was the patience of Tobias and Iob in who much lesse that there coulde be discovered anye estate or thew of theyr griefes, but as true examples of patience, seemed to take pleasure in their aduersities, euen as the Salamander that delights to bath his limmes amid the flames of mosse hote burning fire. The vertue of constancie is then declared, when neyther by trouble, disgrace, or misfortune chaungeth not his hart from the deuotion and businesse he followeth: as was expressed in the perseuerance of the happie Ioseph in Aegypt, and the assurance of that affable Moses in the desert: in whom the offer of beautie and what else apperteyneth to the swete desires of the fleshe, hadde no power of temptation in the one: nor in the mutinie and murmur of so many factious people, was possibilitie to withdraue the other from the seruice he was called vnto. That is true Magnanimitie, when the heart of one man alone dare enterprise vpon graue things, both dangerous to beginne, and verie harde to execute. The effect of his vertue was wel expressed in the Prophete David, when he assayed and vanquished the Giant, and in Helias when he rose to confound Iezabel.

The vertue
of patience.

The vertue
of constancie.

Magnanimitie.

The vertue of Benigntie or mydenesse of harte, is ioyned to that man, who seekes not nor will not render yll for yll, no not so much as to recompence a wrong receyued, with iniuries or vile wordes, according to the mydenesse of Micheas, who suffering

Benigntie
or softnesse
of hart.

Lōg suffering

Humilitie.

The vertue
of force.

ring an outrage of a blow on the eare, the iniurie was afterwards reuenged by a dogge. The vertue of long sufferance appeareth in that man, that is neyther wearie nor bered, though his troubles and perplexities increase, and his helpes and remedies diminish and are farre off: according to the experience and testimony of Saint Paule, who was trauelled with many malices and dangers in the worlde, and that for many peares. The vertue of Meekenesse, or Humilitie, followeth that man whose heart is resolved into such tranquillitie, that he is not moued for any iniurie he heareth, and much lesse disquieted for any vice he seeth. With this vertue was endued the holie man Saint Iohn the Euangelist, whose humilitie and mildenesse of minde, is an example to all Christians to yelde to the aduersities that the enemies of GOD impose vpon them, hoping for that comforte and reward whiche that holie man did find. This is a true effect of the vertue of force, when a man standes so resolute and valiaunt in mynde, that neyther by temptation he wareth weake, nor by importunitie of trouble, he forbeareth to doe good. Of this vertue were notable & holie examples of S. Anthonic and S. Hilarie, suffering great temptations in the desart, and yet not forbearing euē there to do great seruices to God. But for that our principall intention is, to in-treate of the excellencies of perseueraunce, adioynning withall, what necessity we haue of the vertue of force, it is not impertinēt that we touche somewhat the opinions of the Philosophers, and also what the holie fathers thoughte particularlye of it. Sainte Augustine sayeth, that No other thing is the vertue of force, than a burning and vehement affection traueilling a free and liberall minde, passible to all things, whether their qualitie bee harde or easie, vntill hee attayne to that hee desireth, or possesse the thinges whereon hee hath fixed his affection and zeale. Cicero, speaking of force, attributed firmenesse and constancie to no other thing, than a determination of a valiant mind, who dissembleth that which he desireth, and suffereth things that he woulde not. Macrobius referreth to no other thing the vertue of force, than to the heart of a man Heroicall and valiaunt, whom prosperitie can not raise into wœning or fiercenesse, nor aduersities make weake or faint in courage. Aristotle giues thys iudgement

ment of the vertue of force, that it is a certaine strength and courage of a minde resolute, which eschameth aduersitie to be no other thing, than the skipend and recompence of some dishonest act. Lucius Seneca attributes so much to the excellency of a man hardie and valiant, that he makes it moze easie to take a citie wel guarded, than to vanquish a minde inuironed with force and vertue. S. Hierome saith, that no other thing is the discourse of this lyfe, than a high and publike way, on whose right hand marcheth the valiaunt and hardie man, on the left part the coward and saint harted, and betwene them, goeth he that we call strong and resolute. Plato is of opinion that the prerogatives of constancie and force, are to moderate anger with mekenesse, malice with loue, aduersitie with perseuerance, and feare with patience. S. Gregorie referreth the vertue and operation of constancie and force, to vanquish the flesh, to resist the appetites, to despise delightes, to affect things of harde enterprise, and not to eschue those that are perilous and paineful. So greate is the qualitie of this vertue of force, that it is necessary to al other vertues. For, if it minister not to Justice, Temperance, Chastitie, and Wisedome, to come to their endes, they woulde easily lose their operation, and suffer conuersion. So that to enterprise anye good worke, wisdom is necessarie for the beginning, discretion to manage and guide it, and constancie to bring it to execution. The good lucke and felicitie of the good Pilot consistes not altogether to guide wel the helme, but rather that he bring it to arrive safe at the haven: even so Iesus Christ promiseth not the kingdome of heauen to such only as be baptised, nor to him that is called a Christian, and much lesse to any that for a time doth the workes of a Christian, if he perseuers not in his service. For the crowne of triumphe is not bestowed upon him that goeth to the warres, but is worthily reserved for such as obtaine the victorie. Even as in the like resemblance, it is a vaine labour to the husbandman to manure and sowe his lande, if after wardes eyther for feare to be tyed, or in doubts to be made wearie with trauell, he forbear to labour in harnest, and forgetteth to bring his coyne home to the barne. Likewise, if a poore man makynge some voyage, and doubting to finde the waye harde, or vncasse, or his iourney long, returneth, giuing ouer that he hath

Aduersitie
is no other
thing than
the reward
of some dishonest
acte.

Golden Epistles.

begonne: let him assuredly looke to lose y^e he hath spent, & withal to forgoe the purpose and expectation of his trauell. He that laboureth by the daye, is not payde his hyre for that he brings onelye hys mattocke into the garden, but working from moorning til night, he is worthy of his wages and hath it. The wife of Loth was transformed into an image of stone of salte, for that she turned hir head to looke back to Sodome, contrarie to the comendement of God, saying, Go alwayes forth righte without looking backe: the same being an example and doctrine to instruct vs, howe wretched the worlde is, and hauing once forsaken it, we ought not so much as once looke backe to it, and muche lesse reappose confidence in it.

Great was the constancie of Moses and Aaron, in not condescending to the requestes, presentes, and threates, whiche the greates King Pharao practised, to haue them abyde in Egypt, and not to draue from thence the people of Israel: with whome I agree, that in cases to returne to the worlde, and giue ouer any good thing y^e we haue begonne, we ought to reiect the prayers of our friends, and much lesse to be moued with any other temptation. Of this is a good example Ioseph the sonne of Iacob, who being solde into Egypt, and in great opportunitie to possesse the beautie of the Quene, woulde not for all that desyle his conscience, but had regarde to his constancy, and bare care to the reputation of his maister. By his example let vs be warned, the greater necessitie haue we of resolute myndes to resist vices and present sins, together with the offers and temptations that are ministred, than to repulse or defende any enemye that assaileth. Many were the perswasions of the brethren of Dauid, to haue the King to returne to his house and goe no more to the wars, but much lesse that their importunities were sufficiente to make him giue ouer armes, seeing he redoubled his courage, and estones assailed the greates Goliath: giuing vs to knowe thereby, that we ought rather to lose the lines that we haue, than to leaue of the good we haue begonne. Muche was esteemed the constancie of Nehemias and Eldras. in the building of the temple which they made at Ierusalem, in which worke many threatned them, they suffered many passions of iniuries, and were by many wayes dissuaded from their enterprize. Wherefore, let the seruants of God holde it for a
signe

signe that he doth then some good worke, when the wicked with-
 stande or contende against him. Greate was the constancie of Mar-
 docheus vncke to the Quene Hester when he could not be brought
 to do worshippe, nor any humilitie to proude Haman, a grauer of I-
 dols, and a great enemy to the Hebrues. By whose examples we are
 taught, that it belongs to vs to estrange our selues altogether from
 those men, that dissuade vs from our saluation, and inuite vs to sin.
 No lesse was the constancie of the holy woman Susanna, in disobey-
 ing the wicked iudges, desiring hir to defyle marriage, and consente
 to theyr cursed lust: whose vertue may serue as a doctrine to al Chri-
 stians, that neither for feare of punishment, nor by force, none ought
 to commit any great transgression, seeing God keepes a garde and
 reckoning as well of our honour as our life, and is as ready for our
 defence as he was to preserve the chastitie of Susanna. All these ex-
 amples I thought not amisse to reduce into discourse, to the end that
 god men might strue still to pursue the seruice of the Lord, and the
 wicked be afrayde to turne backe. Wherein let all men hold this for
 a faith and law infallible, that the Lord neuer forgetteth him that
 seructh him, and muche lesse is farre from those that followe him,
 according to his prouidence ouer the Prophete Daniel, who beeing
 out of his countrie, and by the sentence of tyrants, thowen into þe
 denne of Lions, abandoned of all succour of men, was not forgot of
 the Lord, who sent his Prophete Abacuch, not only to visite him,
 but also to comfozte and refreshe him with meate. By this also wee
 may inferre, that if we forget not to serue God, he wil not forget to
 minister remedie to our distresses, as knowing right well the little
 we haue, and the lesse we can do. And therefore let vs not giue ouer
 to serue him, & much lesse forbear to follow him, seeing he doth ca-
 pitulate with all men, that if in his seruice they doe that which they
 may, he wil recompence them with the effect of al their desires. So
 that, howe lame, weake, or frayle so ever we be, we oughte not (in
 the action of Gods seruice) to saye, Wee can not, and therefore
 we will not: for that we haue a Lord so good and easie to con-
 sent, that he takes vs not as we are, but hath respecte to that we de-
 sire to be.

Agreable to these, S. Bernard vseth this text: *Debilis est hostis, qui*

U g.

non

Golden Epistles.

non vincit nisi volentem, as if he had sayde, The diuel of his nature is weake, and the Lord holdes him so restrained and vnable, that he hath no power to vanquish any, but such as can not resist him. At the gates of the hart of a Christian knocketh Iesus Christe, and also knocketh the diuell, and offereth to enter, so that in that case, we can not denie, that it is not in our hande to receiue the one, and reject the other: and therefore neyther hath the Diuel any prerogative to enter our house, vnlesse we admit him, nor the spirit of God both depart out of our harts, if our selues make not the waye for him. O miserable man, what shall become of thee, when the Lord calls thee to reckoning, saying he hath entreated thee, and thou hast not followed him: he hath admonished thee, and thou hast not hearkened: he hath called thee, but thou hast not answered him: he hath spoken to thee, but thou hast not knowne him: yea, he hath touched thee, but thou hast not felt him, God speaking to Dauid (as he was wont to communicate with his friends and seruantes) saith: I holde not so great a care over my electe, when they eate, when they sleepe, or in their other actions: as when they sigh & weep: yea, if they will call vpon mee in their tribulations, and somewhat attende me, I wil draw them out of troubles, not only comforted, but also to their honour and estimation: **Wherin we haue reason to knowe, that God loueth vs aboue all others, seeing hee binds himselfe to do more for vs than al the world againe. For, according to the proportion of the worlde, our friends helpe vs to spend the goods we haue gotten, where the Lord aydes vs to beare the trauels we suffer.**

He that calleth vpon God in his trouble, and tarieth him, shall be deliuered to his comfort and honor.

And the seruante of God oughte to consider, that when Iesus Christ sayth, *Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur*: he establissheth not a happinesse and felicitie onely in that men wepe and mourne, but referreth it to the consolation that they expect of their teares. So that to the wise and good Christian, it is not so muche to beholde the temptation which of the enemy he suffereth, and to consider the recompence which of the Lord he expectes. The simple husbandman, when the season and the weather agree, is not afraid to caste his seede into the duste of the Earthe, recommending the increase to the Lord: and dare not true Christians committe theyr estate to the handes of GOD their creator,

in whom remaines the everlasting prouidence over all: And seeing he is the truth wherein men ought to beleue, and the life in whom we ought to liue, and lastlye, the waye by the whiche we oughte to walke, he enuicteth vs thereby to beleue him, and so to possesse our desires: to liue in him, to the end we may be made happie by the benefite of his promises: and lastly to walke in his wayes, to the ende he may guide vs, and if we stumble or fall, he may lend vs his hande, and estones to remount vs.

Non sumus sufficientes cogitare aliquid ex nobis, tanquam ex nobis, sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est. We haue no licence (saith Saint Paul) to thinke or presume any thing of our selues, & much lesse sufficient by our industrie only to do any good worke: but this oughte rather to be our beleefe, that if we doe or knowe to doe anye good, we haue power therunto by the grace of God. Like as also, if we erre in anye thing, it comes so, that we hauing forgot God, he forgets vs, and turnes vs ouer to our proper errors. And therefore, that Christian, which beginneth any thing in confidence of his proper force or power, hath great reason to liue in suspicion of himselfe, and let god garde of his doings: for though it be in the cunning of men to gine the battell, it resteth only in the wisdom of God to dispose the victorie. So that, who determineth to serue God, and vnfeynedly repose confidence in him, hath no necessitie nor reason of fear in him self, or to be hurte by anye other: for that so greate prouidence hath God ouer his seruants that though he suffer them to be tempted, yet he consenteth not that they be vanquished, if it be not of their proper wil. The diuel obtained licence of God to tempte Iob, but it was giuen him vnder this condition, that though he afflicted his bodie, yet he should not touche his soule: Whereby we maye note, that our Lorde shewes not so muche the loue he beareth to his seruantes in taking from them their perplexities and trauels, but rather in diuidyng them farre from sinnes. In like sorte the Diuell gatle leaue to deceyue the wretched Achab, by the meane and industrie of the false Prophetes. In whiche two examples, we may see, what difference is bled betwene the friendes and enemyes of God seeing to suche as serue him, he suffereth that they bee tempted onely, but to those that offende him, he giueth leaue that they be beguiled. Graunte therefore (Oh good Iesu, and loue of

our soules) that we may rather be tempted, troubled, persecuted, & bered with the happy man Iob, than beguiled, vanquished, & abandoned as was the wretched king Achab. If it be familiar to the me of the world to passe from place to place at theyr pleasure, vnder protection and safe conduit: in greater assurance do walke all suche as loue and serue God, for that he hath promised by his Prophet Michas that who shal lay handes vpon any one of his elect, that touch euen the apple of his eye, keepinge suche a mercifull prouidence ouer them, that if he suffer them to slide into sinne, he is readie forthwith to minister his grace. And therefore such deserue not to be called Christians, and much lesse to beare estimation in the ministerie who forbear to serue the Lord for feare to be tempted, or that they doubt of his succours, seeing (according to the testimonie of Dauid) God beares to his chosen such propertie of affection, that he pitcheth his tents rounde about them to defende them, his cares are open to heare them; if they appeale to hym in theyr aduersities and he accompanieth them with his holy Angels, to the ende they erre not, he beholdeth the calamities they endure, and yeldes compassion to the complaints they make, according to the comfort of the Psalmes: *Oculus domini super iustos, & aures eius ad preces eorum.*

Still touching the discourse of religion and of the profellours of the same.



And albeit these wordes of our Lorde, That who perseuereth not to the ende, shall not be saued, are generally to all Christians, yet they concerne mosse chieselye suche as be of the ministerie, who being called to an estate so holie, by how much they are chosen as men most necessarie and worthe, by so muche more do they offend the maiestie of God, if they renounce or leane it: *Reddite Domino Deo vestro,* (saith God by his Prophet,) If you promise any thing to your God, looke to offer and giue it. For a man hauing once past his promise must consider that to do anye thing is an office & action of the wil, but the accomplishe

plishment therof, is of necessitie. The church cōpelleth no mā to take baptisme, but after we be once receiued, she hath power to constrain vs to liue like Chzistians: euen so, there neyther is noz ought to bee authoritic to infozce one an other to chaunge habite oꝝ enter the ministerie, but being once possess of the oꝝders, we are bounde to keepe our profession. Pea, it belongs to the ministers of the Church to knowe, that the perfection of religion consistes not onely to take the habite, to forsake the woꝝlde, and to be inclosed within the pꝛecincte of his vicarage and Churchyarde: but withall, to him appertayneth the passion of paines, troubles, and iniuries, and to strue to resist his affections, and lastly to be constant with his bzethꝛen: foꝝ that, to liue in oꝝder is a thing easie, but to perseuere to the end is intangled with great hardnes. *Non cessamus pro vobis orare, ut dignos vos faciat vocatione sua:* We pray to the Lord continually (saith ꝑ Apostle) to the ende you bee made worthie of his ministerie, that is, that you be thought mete to be called by him, and that he cal you as he is wont to cal those whom he loueth. God inuiteth all, God calleth al, and entreateth them to serue and folloꝝe hym: but amongst all others, those whom he calleth particularly, those doth he holde vp with hys hande, and if he suffer them to slyde, he is readie to helpe them vppꝛe againe. Such as be called of GOD perseuere to the ende, but those whom the enemy leadeth, returns eftsones to the woꝝlde. Great is the comfoꝝt of suche as are come into religion guided by the hande of God, seeing it is aduouched in the scriptures, that the holye Ghost led Iesus into the desart, and the wicked spirite carried him vp to the Temple, not with intention that he should pꝛeach, but rather to thꝛow himselfe headlong from the place. There were manye other places in Hierusalem moꝝe high, than that whiche the Diuel ledde Chzist vnto, but he desired nothing moꝝe thā to make Iesus Chzist fall from the pinnacle of the temple, by the whiche wee are instructed that greater vaunte doeth the diuell make, to make one of those fall which are consecrated to Chzist, than a hundꝛeth of such are as prophane and wander in the woꝝlde. And therewithall we are taughte that the fall which the seruant of God makes in the ministerie, is dangerous to ꝑ soule, doubtful to his conscience, & most slaunderous to ꝑ common weale. It is wꝛitten in the discourse of the liues of the fathers of Egypt, that one of those holy auncients saw in a vision the

assemble of diuels, and hearing euerie one report the diuersitie of il-
 lusions, wherewith they had beguiled the world, he saw their Prince
 make greater gratulation and recompence to one of those ill spirits
 that had deceiued a vertuous man of the Church, than to all the rest
 stirring thousands to transgression and sinne. Two of the children
 of the great sacrificatour Aaron were burned, for no other occasion,
 than for that they had transgressed in one ceremonie of the temple.
 And albeit, in the congregation ther were (no doubt) greater sinners
 than these two children: yet God saw cause to punish them, and dis-
 semble with the others, the better to make vs to know, that y^e estate
 of the ministers is of such perfection, that that which to the world is
 esteemed ceremonie, the same to men of the Church is rule and pre-
 cept, and the breach of it, a sinne moztall: so that vntill the Church
 militant be ended, and that we go to enioye the church triumphant,
 of necessitie doasse wil be mingled with gold, chaffe go with cozne,
 the thorne growe with the roase, marrow loyned to the bones, and
 good men be consociate with the wicked: yea, and this is no small
 wretchednes, that many times it is moze harde to endure a wicked
 man in the ministerie, than all the temptations whiche the illuding
 spirite can stirre by there. *Vt inam recedant qui conturbant nos:* Wold
 to God (saith S. Paule) such as trouble our common weale, were
 diuided from our companie. The man of the Church being wic-
 ked, doth this hurt in the congregation, either to prouoke others to
 sinne by his example, or at leaste to stirre them to murmur by his
 vile perswasions: seeing the potte that boyleth too muche, casteth out
 his fatnesse: the troublesome sea reuerseth the shippes: the violente
 winde renteth by trees by the rootes: and floudes ouerflowing their
 chanel, spoyle the cozne: euen so the minister which is not studious,
 or giueth not himselfe to prayer, or lastly occuppeth not his mynde
 with some exercise of the hande, much lesse that he preuaileth in his
 function, but is an instrument of euil to such as he can make like to
 himselfe. The first curse that God gaue in the world was to the en-
 uious Caine, saying, *Quia occidisti fratrem tuum, eris vagus, & profu-
 gus super terram.* Seeing I haue bestowed thee vpon the earth, and
 thou hast ther defiled thy self with the blood of thy brother, thou
 shalt haue my curse to go as a vagabound in the world, & liue dis-
 contented: according to which wordes of God to Caine, (I say) that
 so2

for a man of order it is another Paradise, the tranquillitie that he findes in the exercise of the ministerie: but to him that hath a will corrupted, it is a hell to be subiect in that place. Sure in good consideration, there is not vnder heauen the like tranquillitie as to be in company of good men, and to pray to God in societie of such as be vertuous. And as Christ would neuer haue giuen to Caine so great a curse, if he had not committed so vile a treason against his brother: so, the Lorde neuer suffereth that any minister, or man of the Church wander or go as a bagabounde throughe the worlde, but for the punishment of some notable offence he hath done in the Church. Being in the fauour of God, we are come in to the Church, and being in his disgrace, we are discontent and disdayned in the same: wherevpon it followeth, that the minister wel instructed liueth alwayes content, where such as are dissolute trauel for the most part in sedition and remotion. And therefore to those may we refer the malediction of Caine, who wandering prophanely from place to place, seeke out newe companions and conuersation to entertaine the time with idle and dissolute exercise, and turne theyr fundis into a forme of euil life and example. Vpon him doth fall the malediction of Caine, in whom remaines a minde wauering and inconstant, seeking change of church and cure without occasion, and desireth to liue vnder new Bishoppes and Ordinaries, not with intention to amend his life, but to seeke out where he may liue in greatest libertie: yea, such one findes no time nor place better agreeing to him, than where he may liue out of subiection of superiours. Vpon that man is thundred the malediction to whom it is troublesome to pray, græuous to studie, and hateful to instruct and preach: but rather as a man repenting his vocation, wandereth vp and downe ill contented, shewing wicked example by his complaints. And lastly to that mā is referred the malediction, who is factious in his ministerie, at contention with his Bishop, and seekes occasions to returne estranges to the world, procuring businesse to sollicite, and being denyed licence to follow his worldly causes, he is ful of murmur, and obtayning leaue he runnes headlong to his owne destruction.

A. b.

The

The end of this discourse rebuking such ministers
as are wanderers.

Manye be the meanes whiche the minister (within his Church) hath to serue GOD withal. For if the humour of pride reigne in him, if enuie disquiet him, if gluttonie tepte him, if ire prouoke him, or the lustes of the fleshe pricke him: vices albeit able to moue him, yet of no power to make him fal, neyther can he so easily resist the, hauing cōuersation in the woꝛld, seeing he is no sōner tempted, than subiect to fal. The building without his couering shrinketh easlye. The marrow without the bone is sone dꝛyed vp. The tree without hys barke is subiect to renting. And the man of the Church, leauing the church, runnes easly to destruction. If Dina daughter to the Patriarch Iacob had not gone from the place where hir father bestowed hir, neither hadde Emor bene killed, nor she defamed. If wretched Iudas had not swarued from the colledge of Christ, nor diuided himselfe from the companie of the Apostles, he had neuer done that sinne, whose vilenesse carried him to a desperate death. By whych notable exampls, all men of the Church ought to bee warned not to leaue the profession wherevnto GOD hath called them, nor to be diuided from the companie of whom he hath made them members.

For that much will be to his profite the good exampls whiche he shall take of some: and of no lesse auaille the wholesome counsels which he shall giue to others. By meane whereof, the man of the Church delighting to wander vp and downe the woꝛlde, if hee consider vprightly of things, shall finde that for the moste part hee returneth to his ministerie, more enuious, more ambitious, more moued, more pensieue, and lesse deuout, than when he went out: and so shall he alwayes feele within his sorrowful hart, greate occasion of remorse, and no lesse cause of complainte againste himselfe. Beware therefore you men of the Church, of the illusions of the diuell, and that he entise you not out of your ministeries

vnder colour to do some good : seeing if he once preuaile so farre as
 to separate you from the fellowship of good men : he will by little
 and little infect you, and make you of the number of the wicked.
 For, the sheepe that strayeth from his flocke, the Wolfe deuou-
 reth him. The Pigeon that flieth farre from hir house is a praye
 to the Faulcon. The trauellet that goeth alone, is subiect to reb-
 bing. The riuers that come out of the sea to the fieldes, doe hurte.
 And the minister, that is diuided from his congregation, beares
 peril of destruction. *Peccatum peccauit Hierusalem propterea instabi-*
lis facta est. The wretched citie of Hierusalem heaped sin vpon sin
 (sayth the Prophete) whereby God inioyned hir to penaunce to
 be alwayes errant and a vagabond. Cuē so then doth the minister
 commit sinne vpon sinne, when he forgets the profession he hathe
 made. Returning eftsoones to y dangers of this miserable world,
 the affliction of such men is, that they liue alwayes in perplexitie
 and neuer contented with themselues: so that the seruauant of God
 professing religion, ought withal to make this promise, neuer to
 change it til he exchaunge his life, neither abandoning the estate
 he hath taken in hande, nor forgetting whereunto he is bounde :
 assuring himselfe, that where in his ministerie he shal finde tran-
 quilitie, and small occasions to sinne, the worlde wil giue him no-
 thing but disquietnesse, with great libertie to offende, and little
 helpe to amende his life. S. Iohn Baptist was commended of God
 particularly for his perseuerance in straitenesse of life, & the great
 courage he shewed in preaching according to this questiō he made
 to the Hebrues: What are you come (saith he) to see in the deserte:
 do you thinke that the sonne of Zacharie is a willowe leafe mo-
 uing with euerie winde. Christe commended not Sainte Iohn,
 onely for that he wente barefote, lined solitarie, fedde vpon Lo-
 rustes, ware nothing but Camels skinne, and slept vpon thornes:
 but he allowed his constancie for that he would neuer goe out of
 the desert entring therein euen in his youth. In whiche respecte
 we haue to beleue, that in so manye yeares, and in suche
 sharpe desertes, Sainte Iohn endured greate hunger, extreme
 colde, manye temptations, greuous sicknesses, and infinite
 cares : Of all whiche afflictions, Christe makes not suche ex-
 presse mention as of hys vnseigned constancie. Many (sayeth
 the

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the Apostle) issue out of the lystes to iust, and many goe to runne the carrire, but in the end, he that goeth beste, carrieth awaye the price, and who arriueth soonest, gaineth the wager: Euen so (you ministers of the Church) forget not to runne the carrire of thys mortal life, that you arriue in time to winne the reward.

This counseil which the Apostle giueth, is not of wil, but of necessitie: for that better shoulde it be to the man of the Church neuer to haue entred religion nor taken the habite, if he perseuere not in that he hath begonne, and is carelesse to keepe that he hath promised. In the last Supper that Christ made with his disciples after he had said vnto them: *Vos estis qui permañistis mecum in tentationibus meis*, gaue them then this comfort, *Et ego dispono vobis regnum*. Seeing, you and no other haue continued with me in my trauels and troubles, following me also in my greatest daungers: ke you assured that your place shall be prepared at my table, and I wyl bestow you in the height of my glozie, to the ende you maye there haue the fruition of my diuinitie. This truly is a most high and greate mysterie for the Apostles, to follow Iesus Christ, hauing abandoned parentes and friendes, countrie and gods, yea, & renounced their proper wils: God thoughte them not woorthie of recompence so muche for that, as for that they perseuered till the ende: he saith not to his disciples, you are onely they that are tempted, but, you haue remayned with me in my temptations. Wherein he giues vs to knowe, that in the other world none shall haue place at the table of GOD, but suche as perseuere in hym to the ende. One of the priuiledges whiche GOD giues to hys friendes (sayeth Dauid) is, that no temptation shall haue power to chaunge their mindes, nor any aduersitie be able to make the giue ouer the good they haue begonne vntill the ende: for that the gift of constancie is of many desired, and of fewe obtayned: and therefore to beginne a good worke is the custome of good men: to pursue and followe it, is the office of the vertuous: but to leade it to this ende and effect, is a priuiledge merely apperteyning to those that be holpe and religious. And to speake the trueth, with what industrie so euer we enforce our selues, and vnder what warning so euer we presume: yet to resiste an yll, we

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We are too tender of heart, and farre too moueable of condition :
so that right happie is it with those that shall heare Chyriste saye,
You are they that haue perseuered with me, and therefore you are
regenerate , and shall enioy with me for euer the perfectiō and
felicitie.

A resolution of certaine familiar and natural que-
stions: with apparant coniectures and
tokens of deathe.

I Would your importunities were as iuste
as my excuses are reasonable, so should the
contention be easily resolved, whether my
faultes bee greater, or your complaints. In
him that makes request, it is easie to finde
words to speake, for that he speakes in de-
sire: but to whom the sute is made, belongs
greate discretion, for that all denials are
hatefull, not so muche by the merite and consideration of the cause,
as for that the affection of the sutor may be corrupt. Which I doe
not alledge here to the proue of your fault, for that in our friende-
ship shoulde remaine no faction: nor yet to iustifie my excuses, if
they beare not both reason and innocencie: assuring you, that see-
ing it pleaseth you to make a triall of my witte, more for exercise
than possibilitie of knowledge, I will ioyne my selfe to your fan-
cie, not so muche for necessitie, as to keepe vse of my imperfe-
ction.

You aske me wherfore men conteyne greater copulencie and
substance of bodie, than women? I saye it procedes of the heate
which is more abundant in the one, than in the other. For, heate
being of a nature to increase and swell, gines vnto men a greater
perfection in stature and nature than to women, whose humours
being tempered with colde, makes their bodies lesse substantiall
and of more infirmities.

Why men
beare grea-
ter bodies
than womē.

You

The fire and
the aire in-
corruptible.
The earth
and the wa-
ter subiect
to corrup-
tion.

You woulde knowe how it happeneth, that of foure elementes, the fire and the ayre are incorruptible, and of the contrarie, the earth, and the water are subiect to corruption: to this I saye, it is of necessitie that all things intangled with corruption, are firste made colde: but the fire cannot suffer colde, for that it is an enemye to cold: and the ayre, albeit sometimes it bring forth colde, yet it is alwayes full of fire: where, the earth and water, hauing their temperature of cold and heate, are subiect to corruption, by the nature and qualitie of their composition.

Why men
shriuer and
are cold af-
ter they bee
deliuered
of their
vrine.

You aske wherevpon it commeth that oftentimes we shrinke and enter into a colde, after we be deliuered of our vrine. The reason is this. So long as the vrine being hote, remayneth yet in the bladder, neyther the bladder nor the partes about it can feele any colde, but the bladder being discharged, all the sayde partes are estones filled with an ayre more colde than was the vrine (for there is nothing boyde in nature:) and that ayre occupying the place of the vrine, causeth naturallie the shriuing and colde that we feele. You woulde knowe howe it happeneth, that when we are verie colde, and coming hastily to the fire to seeke warmth, we feele a grieve or ache in our fingers endes: and warming vs by leasure, we haue no motion of paine: This maye bee answered by experience, that when we passe out of one contrarie into an other, the mutation is great, as may be scene in trees, who being plyed and bowed by little and little, breake not: but straying them by force, they rent in two: even so the heate that is within, holdeth the colde out, repulsiue with all the moysture, and so one contrarie is resisted by an other: the same being the cause, that receyuing warmth by little and little, the heate within comes out, and is not hindered by the colde, which causeth the lesse sense of feeling of paine: but in receyuing sodenly the warmth of the fire, we do by violence drawe out a great heate, and by the repugnancie that it findes with the colde, not fully gone, brings no small paine to the partie. You aske me by what reason most women, the firste and seconde moneth that they are with child, haue that disordered appetite to eate coales and other straunge things? The reason of that appetite is, that nature hath drawen down all the bloud of the woman to helpe to forme the fruite in hir womb: whiche

Why men
warming
the n soden-
ly feele a
grieve or
ach in their
fingers ends

Why womē
lust after
strāge thin-
ges when
they are
newly con-
ceyued.

Whiche bloude being corrupted, makes also the stomacke partaker of hys vice and corruption: by whiche occasion the stomacke being pressed with suche matter so corrupte, requireth al meates that are vaine and loathsome, taking his luste and desire to manye thinges according to the qualitie or impression of the matter wherewith he is charged. For, if it abounde wyth an humour melancholike, whiche is blacke, it formeth an appetite to coales and suche like things: if it suffer abundance of sharpe flegme, it breeds a luste to things sharpe and eager: the lyke iudgemente being proper for all other humours.

To your demaunde why women and Eunuches haue theyr voyce so smal and shrill? I say it procedes of the quill or pipe of their weysand, which being straight, can not be enlarged by reason of the humour wherof it is full: and heate only hath power to make it wider. For as we see, out of little and smal pyffes, come a voice cleare and shrill: and out of small trunckes the lowdest sounde: euen so is it of the pyffe of the weysande, which, by reason of hys subtiltie is called lowde or shrill.

Why women and Eunuches haue a shrill voice

You aske me why such as containe but meane stature, are for the moste parte more wise than those that haue greate bodies: That may be by this reason, that in a little bodie, the senses and spirites are alwayes better vnited and compact than in a greate: where in a greater by reason they suffer more separation and libertie, they can not expresse so greate vertue and effect as in the lesser bodie, whose littlenesse keepes them better to their natural properties and actions, according to the iudgemente of Homer, who in his description of Vlysses makes him of little stature, but of much excellencie of witte, and of the contrarie he sets forth Ajax with bode and members of greate copulencie, but verie simple in mynde and iudgemente. Where you aske howe it cometh to passe, that for the moste parte Beasantes and poore men of the countrey, get children wel accomplished and wise, and of the contrarie, to men of greate wisdomre and opinion succede children that be ideotes and without iudgemente? I take it to procede of this. The simple man and he that followeth the toyle of hys husbandrie, when he is in the exercise of generation, thin-

Why little men are most wise.

Why poore men get children better accomplished than others.

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thinkes of no other thing but of the pleasure in the act, by whyche this sēde is moze perfect, as hauing the full consent and force of al the spirites vitall, animall, and naturall, the same bꝛething into his children, mindes subtil and resolute. But with the wise men it is otherwise. For, they hauing continuall exercise of minde, keepe their thoughtes in impression and comtemplation of some particular thinges, eyther concerning honesty, profit, or matter of enterpryse, wherby as it is not possible that in the act of generation, their naturall sēde should be accompanied with the forces of all the spirits, and specially of the spirit animall, which engendereth such cogitation in persons: so of necessitie to the children which they get are referred moze imperfections than to others.

Difference
betweene
the qualitie
of a stone &
wood thro-
wen into
the water.

You woulde knowe why a stone, a pēce of yron, or other suche like thinge bēing throwne into the water, sinketh forthwith to the bottome: where of the contrarie, a pēce of wood, how great so euer it be, swimmeth allwayes vppon the very vpper face thereof.

Touching the proprietie of the wood, I thinke it may bē referred to the little holes that be in it, which bēing full of winde and aire, so hold it vp, that his weight cannot worke his natural condition: but stones and yron compounded of bodie moze close & heauie, and suffering no conduite or place for the ayre to enter: of necessitie sincke downe, as hauing no impedimentes till they come to theyr centre. To this may be adioyned the experience of such as are drowned, who the first day, fall to the bottome, but afterward remount aboue the water. For, after the bodie is rotten, the weisande and al other concavities are filled with winde and ayre, by whose proprietie they are blowen vp and sēne floate vpon the vppermost parte of the water. For this cause there haue bene certaine Pirats, who vsed to cutte out the weisand of such as they slew in the sea, to the ende their bodie were not throwen vp again to the disclosing of their vile act. By this reason also eggs that are not broken or corrupt, sincke forthwith to the bottome, being throwen into a riuer: where such as are rotten, floate vpon the water, for that the humour that is within being corrupted, maketh place to an ayre that entreth, whiche kepeth the egges swimming. You aske me howe it happeneth, that Louers often
times

times expresse in theyr bitter parts a passion of colde, and sometimes a seruencie of heate, seeming to suffer those same fittes and motions which we see ascribed to Agues: Touching this demaunde, albeit you might be better satisfied with your owne experience, than with any resolution of me, who haue alwayes professed the science of humanitie, and not the studie of follie: yet according to our methode of naturall reason I maye thus farre presume to your instruction, that louers plunged in the passion and perplexities of loue, the naturall heate withdrawing to the neather partes, leaue the extremities of the bodie colde, as depriued of all their hote substance: the same conuerting them into mindes vncertain, tormented, & trauncced: but whē they are brought into hope of obtaining, their natural heat es-sones returneth outwardly, and disperseth through all the extreme partes of the bodie, which by this refreshing of the bloude, becomes red and of pleasaunt temperature. For that cause it hath bene au-ble amongst paynters and grauers of images, to dye the Cupide so- times sad, and sometimes ioyful, giuing him wthal the soyme and proportion of a childe, for that light loue is an affection great and ve- hement, and yet lasteth not long: where to the loue vertuous and he- nest is ioyned continuance and constancie, as appeareth in the friendship betwene friends and friends, the affection of the father to his children, and the obseruation betwene the husbande and his honest wife. But touching unlawfull loue, as it breeds oftentimes in persons not wel knowne one to another, and therefore hath no great stabilitie, and lesse continuance: so, the loue honest taking his greatest consideration of the merite, qualitie, and vertue of the par- tie, remaines alwayes moderate and temperate, wherein the affe- ction that dare not be iustified is full of violence, furie and pas- sion.

Whereof
comes the
alteration
of louers.

Where you would know wherupon it proceeds that louers are stricken and made slaues and bondmen, at the only regarde and sight of their Ladies: I aunswere, according to the opinion of some, that as the true seate and testimonie of loue, consisteth in the eyes: and no part of man more truely expresseth the inward affections of the bodie than the eyes: so loue being a certaine affection, and good wyll, is naturally bred of a thing lyke to himselfe. For, such as loue, searche nothing but recompence of affection, and by

Why lo-
uers are
stricken by
the only
sight of
their ladies.

Why louers
leepe not
a nightes.

consequence the house and seat of affection whiche is the eyes, by whose meane they are made certaine of the loue whiche remayneth within. You aske me, why louers passe mooste part of many nightes without power to sleepe. You must consider that this great affection draweth the whole man to it, and so intangleth him with confusion, that he receyvneth no contemplation of things necessarie or profitable. This affection is that selfe same loue, who much lesse that he wil suffer his subiectes to liue in rest, seeking as a canker he encrease to more and more to the confusio of al their delights, felicitie, and contentment, and therefore he is placed amongst the natural diseases, afflicting the tranquillitie of man. There is also an other reason, whych is drawen from the cares and thoughtes which louers haue: for those melancholike contemplations mingled with passions of choler and heauinesse, doe heate and drie by the partie, restrayning by that meanes his course of sleepe, which procede of vapours cold and moyst: the same being also the cause why olde men wake more than the younger sorte, as being conuerted into more colde and drought.

Why louers
complaine
for small
causes.

Where you demaunde why louers fall into great complaints for small causes: You must consider, that because louers (aboue all other sortes of men) are naturally suspicious, and carried into mutation for smal things, like little childe: they are by that meane seldome without heauinesse and sorrow of heart, and therefore, so much the more subiect to complaint, by how much their mindes liue alwayes trauelled in trouble and ielousie.

Why louers
lose speech
in the pre-
sence of
their ladies.

You aske me how it hapneth that louers, in the presence of their ladies, lose libertie of speech: and do oftentimes forgette that which they had studied, and wel considered to speake: It maye bee, that infirmitie procede of the trouble of the minde, ingendred by a looke or glaunce cast by stealth vpon the thing that they loue, and standing so amazed in minde the tong hath no facilitie to the action of his ductie, seeing the beginning of the speech deriueth of the minde or spirite to whom the tong serues as an interpreter to expresse hys conceytes. This happeneth also to many, who called to question in the presence of a Prince or Magistrate, fall oftentimes into a passion of stuffing or meare silence, specially if they bee trauelled eyther with feare or falschod of conscience.

So that you aske me why louers are shamesall to discouer their affections: I say, that men haue certaine appetites naturall and necessarie as to drinke and ease, which of necessitie they must satisfie to preserve life, and auoyde death: so they haue other affections, whiche albeit are naturall, yet not necessarie but superfluous, vaine, and withall dishonest, from those are deriued many disordered appetites, as is the rage of loue, whiche is an affection blinde and ingendered of idlenesse: and for that it brings vnto men an estimation of beastlynesse and dishonestie. The moste softe sake (as muche as they can) to hyde theyr loue, and vnder figures and apparauces to liue in expectation of that they desire. You aske mee also howe it happeneth that louers discerns not the vices and faults of their amorous friendes. That must needs be an error deriued of their proper affection, whiche diuides them from their true indgement and senses. For louers (as sayeth Plato) are like to suche as hunt after estates and offices, or to those that are giuen to winne, to whom al estates are welcome, and al wines seeme to giue a pleasing taste. Besides, according to the Philosophers, all greate motions hinder those that be lesse: so that loue hauing occupied the chief and most principal motions of the spirite, troubleth for the moste part the vertue and original of the senses: the same being the cause (with Plato) why louers are made blinde with the sight of their Ladies, and according to the same the Poets haue sayned Cupid without eyes. And where you desire me to giue a reason why men be hoarse and of corrupt voyce after they haue slept: I thinke that impediment comes no other wayes, than by a repletion of humours caused by a rawnesse or indigestion of meate, the same occupying the vpper parts of the bodie, and makes the head dul and heauie: therefore the pyper of the weyslande being full of the saide humours, they must necessarily be impediments to the voyce, and make it hoarse and hollowe. Thus much touching the exposition of your Philosophical demaundes.

Why louers
are shame-
fast to dis-
close their
affections.

Why men
be hoarse
after they
haue slept.

And nowe where you require me, by a speciall and large request, to communicate with you, what I haue hearde and read either in Philosophie or Physicke, by what apparaunt signes and tokens may be indged, whether one that is sicke shall dye or lyue, for that (as you saye) you haue a daughter in daunger, and woulde gladiue

knowe hir destinie. The resolution of this demaunde, albeit appertaineth moze properly to your doctour of Physicke, than vnto mee that am a Diuine, studying moze howe to preache than to iudge of complexions: yet, seeing you will haue my opinion, I praye you let me debate with you as a Christian, that as God hath numbred the yeares of our life, and set downe a limit which no man can passe: so if it be his good pleasure, your daughter shal yet liue: but if he think it conuenient for hir saluation he knoweth beste when to call hir to him: for, it is not only he that giueth life, but he is euen the self life: and therefore according to the office of a Diuine, more than in the counsel of a Physician, I wishe you to put hir in remembraunce of hir mortallitie, and prepare hir to God, in whome and none other all good Christians ought to beleue is power to chaunge our life, and translate vs to himselfe.

Signes and
tokens of
death in a
sicke man.

Many and many haue I knowen abandoned of the worlde, and extremely past succour and help of man, y haue yet receyued restitution of God, and liued many yeares: and manye againe recovered of sicknesse, and passe all apparaunce of daunger, and yet payde their tribute to nature when was no expectation of death: a thyng that is not to be construed to the well or ill handling of the Physician, but to be referred to the prouidence of God which hath so ordayned it. The king Ezechias was giuen ouer of the Physicians, and the son of the hoast of *Samaria* was deade: but at the commaundemente of God the childe reniued, and Ezechias was recovered. But leauing those testimonies of Scripture to a further leasure, let vs gather some opinions of the Philosophers, who with many aunciente Physicians, haue set downe in writing certain notable signes to discern the perill of death in such as are sicke. Plinie in his leauenth booke, and one and fiftie Chapter, saith, that a man beyng sicke of any sharpe infirmitie, as of a franlie, if he fall sometimes into a soden mirth, or burste out into a greate laughing, that patiente expecteth greate tokens of present death. If any be sicke of a corruption of humours melancholike, and set himselfe to beholde or stare muche vpon an other without flurring hys eye off long, suche a one is not farre from death. If any man be sicke of a feuer cholericke or sharpe, and his pulse moze vncertainely, sometimes quicke and sometimes slow, such one no doubt inclynes to death. Who is sicke of

a burning fether, and vseth sometimes to draw vp the shée, or double the cloathes of the bed, or plucke off the thymbes of the same, in that man is great coniecture of the ende of his life. One that hath lye long sicke, and beginnes to shut and close his eyes often, & sette his teeth and mouth, carrieth great apparaunce of death. He that is stricken with the plague, and being halfe awake, and beginneth to raue and murmur to himselfe, carrieth manifest coniecture of death. If any above the age of fourescore yeares fall into a gracie hunger to eate and drinke without mesure, it is a signe they haue not long to liue. A young child being sharpe in wit and readie in answers, or that he shew in that tender age a discretion accomplished, in that child is no iudgement of long life.

These be the coniectures of the Philosophers whiche I haue gathered moze to content you, than that I assure them to be infallible, aduising you soz end, to recomende your daughter to God, who only hath power to dispose al things by the same prerogatiue where by he hath made them of nothing.

A discourse of the cannonised Pagan Gods and why they are holden for Gods, together with an exposition of sundrie Poetical inuentions tending to the same.

I haue sent you here with my iudgement touching the originall of the Pagan Gods, bothe what they were, and why they were cannonized and worshipped as Gods, hoping you wyl read it, though not soz any merite of my trauel or diligence, yet soz that you shall see disclosed the errors of the auncientes, & haue cause to acknowledge the goodnesse of God that hath made you liue in a time of Christianitie and not to beleue as a Pagan.

And so falling to the matter, we will beginne at Iupiter and Saturne hys father. Saturne was the sonne of the Kyng Celius and Vesta his wife, and brother to the mightie tyrant Titan: who at the

Æ. iij.

per.

The original of Saturne.

Golden Epistles.

Jupiter and
Juno borne
both at a
burthen.

perswasion of his mother and Ops and Ceres his two sisters (much mistaking that one so rude as Titan shoulde by the righte of maiortie, ascende to the succession and crowne of Celius) yelding h^e kingdome to Saturne his yonger brother, vnder this couenant, notwithstanding that he should slea all his male children, to the ende the issue of Titan might estsones repesse the crowne after the death of Saturne. By this contract Saturne was inuested in the kingdome, and stood peaceable king, to whom Ops his wife and sister brought forth a sonne, which he caused to be slaine according to his promise: after this she was estsones deliuered of a sonne and a daughter at one burthen: the sonne was called Lidamas, whiche name the Poets chaunged afterwards into Iupiter, sayning that name vpon a Planet whiche they erected according to their fancie: the daughter had to name Iuno. Ops desirous to saue the life of hir sonne, gaue him secretly to Vesta hir mother: and presented only the daughter to Saturne.

Neptune &
his name
disguised.

Vesta caused Iupiter to be nourished, and being growen to some stature and age, she sent him to them of Crete, or else a people called Coryuantes, a nation warrelike, and inhabiting certaine mountaines in a separate corner of the kingdome. After this, contrarie to the knowledge of Saturne, Ops brought forth an other sonne called Neptune, not for that it was his proper name (as Cicero sayth) but the superstition of men, making him a God on the sea, imposed vpon him that name of Neptune, signifying a swimmer.

Pluto born.

At another birth Ops brought forth two children, Pluto & Glauca, she wing only the daughter, she bestowed Pluto secretly at nurse. Isidore sayth the Pagans indued him with that name, for that they hold him as God infernall. The Latines called him Dis pater, as father of riches: and some named him Orcus, as deuourer, for that the earthe swalloweth all, and deliuereth agayne that she hath taken.

But Titan vnderstanding that his brother Saturne had broken promise, and corrupted the contract, beganne to gather malice and dispite against him, and accompanied with the forces of his children called also Titans, tooke the kingdome from Saturne, and imprisoned hym, together with Ops his wife: which comming to the know

knowledge of Iupiter, being a young and valiant prince, descended to the succors of his father and mother with the strength of the Coruantes, amongst whom he was trayned, and ioyning battel, Iupiter obtayned the victorie, and with honour was the deliuerer of his parentes: of this quarrel came the fable of the warres of the Giants. At that time Saturne being so warned by an Oracle to take hede of Iupiter his sonne, so that he had intention to kil him and expulse him the kingdome devised to destroy Iupiter, who vnderstanding the conspiracies of blond against him, came with a great armie against his father, whom he vanquished in battel.

Saturne being without courage eftsones to reconer his kyngdome, fledde into *Italie* and there taught the people of that countrey to sow and plant, and labour the comodities of the earth, and so recomence, that brutish and rude nation, liuing afoze wyth rootes and wilde frutes, honoured him as a God. Iupiter raigning peaceably king, toke to wife Iuno his sister, and conquered many countries, not so muche by force and strength at armes, as with the excellencie and subtiltie of his wit: so, he disclosed chieslye and communicated to diuerse people and nations greate secretes of nature, and ordayned lawes and sundrie good fourmes of pollicie: hee inuented manye artes profitable and necessarie for the vse of mans life, by meane whercof he rose into greate renowne amongst men, and also toke vpon him the name and title of **G M D**, which he easlye atchieued, for that that brutish and simple people, not knowing how to ioyne wortheie recompence to so many benefits and helpes to their liuing, which they had receiued by his meanes: beganne to worshippinge hym, thinkyng that to be the mosse honourable degre of seruite they coulde doe hym. And for the better establisshments and perpetuitie of this diuine honoure, when hee contracted alliaunce or confederacie wyth anye Prince, hee inioyned hym to buylde a Temple in his name: as dyd the King Celiu, who erected a Temple, and dedicated it to Iupiter Celiu. The king Molion set vp an other, and consecrated it to Iupiter Molion: With manye others builded to the monumente and reputation of his name. About that time the brethren of Iupiter summoned him to partition of his patrimonie, wherunto he agreed, & diuiding

Saturne taught the people of *Italie* the toyle of the earth.

Iupiter married his sister Iuno.

Iupiter was shipped as a God.

Golden Epistles.

How Neptune and Pluto had their names

the kingdome by lot, the West part fel to Pluto : the Isles and bankes of the Sea happened to the portion of Neptune, and to Iupiter descended all the confines of the East. Of this partition sprung the fiction of the Poets, calling Neptune the God of seas, and Pluto the God infernal, for that the West or falling of the Sunne is more darke and cloudie, and also more base and lowe than the East. Here grew also the first fiction that Iupiter chased his father into hel for that *Italie* where Saturne was retired, standes Weste in respecte of *Candia*, and is more darke.

We wil not now stand vpon this discourse of other names, which were attributed to the Gods, together with their numbers, & whether they were before or after them the same serving to small end to our present purpose, but will shortly retourne to the East part, which was the portion of Iupiter. For this opinion of the Poets grew by this, and they gaue it out for a doctrine, that the firmamente or heauen fel to the part of Iupiter, the rather for that Iupiter remaineth for the most part since that partition in the mount *Olympus* of *Thessalia*, which the Greekes called heauen, as they did also name all other mountaynes of the like height and hugeness of *Olympus*.

Disclosing of the transformation of Iupiter.

And because king Iupiter was the most lecherous and dissolute Prince of his time, and descended oftentimes from his mount *Olympus* to accompany some faire Ladie wheresoeuer he founde by, and for that he disguised himselfe, into many sleighes and subtilties proper to beguile women, the Poets sayned that he took other shapes, and transformed himselfe into many strange figures & formes : as when he conuerted himself into a shoure of gold, to lye with faire Danae, it was no other thing (as Isidore sayth) than a greate masse of golde which he made slide into the handes of his keepers, to betray the chastitie of that faire Ladie. When they make him to transforme himselfe into *Amphitrio*, it was no other thing than the consent that *Amphitrio* gaue him to lye with his wife, and for the rewarde of a great summe of money. The Metamorphosis that he suffered into a Bull to steale Europa, was no more but the image of a Bull painted on the sailes of the Shippe, wherein Iupiter bestowed his when he took her away. Such like were the transformations of Iupiter, wherein may be discerned the simplicitie and great blind

blindenesse of suche as worshipped that licentious King so: a true G D D , gouernoure of heauen and earth, he that was the most vnbridled and dissolute man, and moste drowned in his proper lustes of all other in his time.

And seeing bpō him they imposed the title of God of al gods, by him we may iudge þ qualitie of other Gods, of whō the most part called him father, as in deed most of thē issued of him: as Phœbus the God of sciēce, Mars the ruler of battels, Mercurie the infuser of eloquence, Bacchus þ image of Epicuritie, Vulcan þ spirite of fire, & Venus the baine idole of loue. Others there were that were his parents, as Pluto Prince of hell, Neptune the director of the waters, Ceres the disposer and blesser of cozne, & Diana the figure and example of chastitie. And so reckoning by degrees, they established particular Gods, to al things that might be imagined, esteeming one God to be insufficient to alone raigne, & to lead the vniuersal worlde within the power of hys gouernement: yea they adioyned to this idolatrie the worshipping of certaine beastes, plantes, gods, and trees, by reason of the properties they saw in them. The Egyptians (as Iuuenal saith) were so farre drowned into this superstition, that they worshipped as Gods Onions and Leakes, attributing much to their felicitie and happinesse who had of those plants in their gardens. And as the ignorance of those blinde people ledde them to do honour and sacrifice to such things, as to Gods, so they helde it so: religion to giue obedience to them, holding suche accursed, as were not so: ward in the seruice and ministerie of such baine and trifling thinges. M. Varro writeth that Brasilius þ Philosopher found at Rome 2800. Gods, which carrieth no smal possibilitie of truth, seeing the abuse there was so great and generall, that they gaue ceremonie, worshippe, and sacrifice as to a God, to all thinges whereof they had receiued any benefite, or that they supposed had any power to keepe them in feare.

Tullus Hostilius third king of Rome, beyng vered with a feuer tertian, which had turned his complexion to a pale and yellow, did sacrifice to his ague the sower to make it to leaue him. Flora a publike curtisan, and a woman whose bodie was abando-

Golden Epistles.

Flora a public curtesan
honoured
as a God.

ned to all luste and allurements of the fleshe, was canonized, and honoured with an image or figure, for that, of all the gods she had got with the filthie sweate and trauel of hir bodie, she constituted the Senate to be heire: they gaue hir diuine honour, and celebrated hir feast euerie yeare, wherein as a speciall coremonie, there was libertie to all yong men to be naked and to exercise their pleasure with the first woman they found. S. Augustine writeth that the Consuls and wisemen of *Rome*, tooke counsell to abolishe that vile and abhominable custome: but albeit for certaine perils and impediments they durst neuer execute it, yet to deface the memoire of that lewde woman, and giue greater apparaunce to theyr superstitions, they named Flora the Goddess of flowers.

The Philosophers acknowledged
God.

Amid these great darkneses & obscurities of ignorance, where in this people of the Gentiles was plunged, there were manie notwithstanding, in whome was some impression of lighte, and possessed with those naturall iudgements and reasons whych drew them out of that blindnesse, as in daede all the schole of Philosophie generally acknowledged one authour and mouer of al thinges, from whom, as out of a spring, proceeded all the vniuersality of things, and were sedde and entertained by him as the true and soueraigne gouernour of the whole. Of this knowledge Socrates was not deprived, who being at pointe of death, said he was willing to die, to confesse one only Lord, to whom he had alwayes laboured to do seruice, according to the power of his humaine frailtie, neuer hauing intencion to offend him.

The faith of particular
Philosophers and
Poets touching the
omnipotence of God.

Aristotle, at the article of death recommended himselfe to the soueraigne creatour, saying, Oh cause of all causes, haue pitie on me. Plato and Cicero in their treatises of common weales, were of the same opinion. It was the faith of Virgil, that al proceeded of God, and that as well the heauen and earthe, as the ayre and water, are full of his greatnes, acknowledging by that the essence of one onely God. Cicero speaking of the nature of Gods, and Varro in his vaine Etymologies, being albeit both Pagans, and much addicted to theyr ceremonies, scoffed notwithstanding at the feasts and assemblies whiche the populer sorte made to honour theyr **G D D S**, partly through ignorance, moze by flatterie, but most
of

of all for feare . It is no neede here to proue by the doctrine of the Scripture, that all these Gods were but illusions & dreams, proceeding of the inuention of man and abuse of the diuel, seeing that since the Sunne of the euerlasting truth is appeared, which is the son of y^e onely God, al these damnable superstitions are not only discovered, but by the beames of that Sunne shining in the mindes and eyes of men, they are put to flight, and vanished, as the cloudes giue place when the sunne approacheth. They are false into ruine, as buildings ill founded: and meeting the firme vessel of the word of God, their tickle ship driuen by the winde of abuse and deceite, is confounded and swallowed in the goulph of Christian religion. Thus much for the firste pointe of your demand, which I doubt not is either sufficiently answered, or at leaste nothing left doubtful.

There resteth now, to touche what opinion the Poets and other auncients had of these Gods, and the pluralitie of them: as Hesiod, Archilocus, Horace, Menander, Aesop, Apuleius, Ouid, and many other writers of great grauitie and authoritie, who published not their inuentions and fictions to other effect, than to disclose to men the meanes to become more wise, and drawe to a more ciuill fourme of life in the worlde: for which purpose, they spreadde many fictions and fabulous Metaphors, tending to sundry artes and professions . For fables (according to the opinion of Aphthonius, and Hermogenes) haue taken their name of Fari in Latine, signifying to discourse and speake: so that a fable may be taken for a discourse sayned, inducing oftentimes, vnder an honest recreation and delightful resemblance, the readers to consider the moral sence and doctrine hidde vnder those fabulous discourses, which discovering the customes and couersations of men, they do also improprieate manye things to the actions of men, extolling men of vertue, and imbasing suche as seeke theyr happinesse and chiefe felicitie, in vices and are (as it were) men of nothing.

There is the first pointe to be considered by al men of profound iudgement in the reading as wel of Ouid as of other Poets. And for y^e secōd, it is to be noted, y^e when there was any mā excellent, whe

Golden Epistles.

•Promethe-
us the first
that shewed
to the E-
gyptians a
forme of ci-
uil life.

whether in sciences, or in armes, or in influence of wit, or hadde some other singular or soueraigne qualitie, which made him seruiceable to his common weale, suche men the Poets called the Children of God: and when they dyed, they helde them transfo^rmed into Planets and Starres, the same to Curre by others the rather to vertue. If any man broughte forth any acte of vertue or singularitie, of what nature or moment so euer it were, they extolled him to the heauens, as appeareth in the glorie which they gaue to the heauens, as appeareth in the glorie which they gaue to the Philosopher Prometheus, who for that he was the firste in *Egypt* that he shewed to men of ciuilitie, instructing them to liue like men, and shake off that beastly ignorance wherein they were resolu^ed: they sayned that he had stolne ϕ fire from heauen (which is wisdom^e) to communicate it to men. For that Atlas was a great Astrologian, they sayne that he holdes vp the heauen. And because Iupiter and his race were also singular in that science, they ascribed their names to principall Planets. In other places the Poets seeing the harts of men, after they had once receiued the impression of errors in their bzaines, to continue hardened and obstinate in their false imaginations: sayned that Deucalion and Pyrrha had conuerted stones into men. But as Paulus Perusius writeth, those simple people had read in the auncient hystories of ϕ Greekes the particular deluge that fel in *Thessalie*, during ϕ which the people of that countrie soughte their safetie in the hil *Parnassus* and other high mountaines, remayning there in great amaze amongst the rockes, forrestes, and caues, without any courage or disposition to descend eftsones to the plaines, and follow the commodities of the earth, till by Deucalion and Pyrrha his wife (skilful in the course of the starres) they were satisfi^ed by natural reasons, that those great waters were caused by certaine constellations and influencies, and that it woulde be a very long time afoze the like inundation happened.

Proper fi-
ctions of
the Poets
for many
things.

The Poetes also, when they went about to aduance chastitie, sci^egned a transfo^rmation of persons cha^st^e, into trees alwayes greene as the *Oliue* and *Laurell*, into the which were transhaped *Lotus* and *Daphe*, signifyng by that continual greenenesse, virginie vnde^siled: and so following those fictions, they compared me both

both good and bad, to many trees according to the good and bad properties they had.

In like sorte, they sayned that all young men dying in the flower of their age, and hauing any sparckle of vertue, were transformed into flowers Greene, tender, and delicate, withering forth with. Ouid makes Hyacinthus (a young and forward Prince) to be chaunged into a flower: and so saith he of Adonis, Narcissus, Hermaphroditus with others. And of the contrarie, when he sought to blame and deface vices, the better to make men abhorre them, he transformeth men dissolute and licentious into brute beastes: the same agreeing with the verse of Boetius, that who lieth beastly and according to the inclinations of beastes, may be holden transformed and chaunged into beastes. The gigantes, for that they were men proude and intractable, denying the truth and power of the Gods, and raising warre againste them, were by the fiction of the Poets, conuerted from men into apes, truly resembling, that wicked men and such as by presumption and haughtinesse of harte, wil not acknowledge their Creator, but hunt after brutallitie, are not improperly compared to beastes, retaining no other thing of men, than the outward figure, as we see in the similitude and proportion of apes. With this opinion agreeth Cicero, who holdeth the warres of the Giants none other thing, than a life disordered, vnbzideled and out of reason: therevpon came the Metamorphosis of Licaon into a Wolfe: for, being king of *Arcadia* he was so tyrannous towarde his people, that they drew into reuolt, and by the counsel and aide of Iupiter he was constrained to retire into the Forrests, praying by raine and stealth vpon passengers, as the Wolfe doth vpon the sheepe.

The Poets also painting forth any cruell tyrannie, sayned tyrants than chaunged into haukes of praye, as Dedalion whome they make conuerted into a Bitter. And for suche as dare not iustifie themselves in the face of the worlde, by reason of theyr life abhominable, they sayne them conuerted into Wydes and foules that flye not but by night. Suche one was Nyctemones transformed into an Owle, the carriers of newes and tales were chaunged into Crows and Ravens. Men effeminate, employing their time to scize their haire, perfume their garments,

and

Golden Epistles.

and beholde their face in a glasse, are likened to the Seamewes and cranes, which are alwayes pruning their feathers. And to detest the abomination of pride, presumption, and vain glorie, they brought in y^e daughters of Cynara, who for y^e they wer the daughters of a rich and mightie father, despised al other that were poore: but God made their pride subiect to such iustice, that they^r povertie and miserie brought them in the ende, to lye alwayes at the gates of the temples begging almes, and so according to the fiction of the Poets, they were turned into stones serving as the stairs, or steppes of the temple. Such as drowned or strangled themselves, represented the insatiable desire of the covetous, who albeit they haue all they^r desires, yet they rest not contented, but in following the infinite motions of their appetite, they finde they^r owne destruction by dispaire, sayning for an example of that figure, Midas to be converted into golde. For a spectacle of enuie, and the workes thereof, they paint out Aglauros. For a paterne of whoredome, they bring in Circes, who was a whore so excellent in beautie, that she enchanted all such as behelde hir, according to the fiction of Horace. And because balwdes and whoremongers, alwayes attending on the frayne of common women, are like vnto swine, the Poets sayned the followers of Vlysses to be transfigured into swine.

To blaze prodigallitie, and such as were too much giuen to their delightes, they painted Acteon turned into a Harte, who was so muche drowned in the pleasures of hunting, that in the ende hys dogges deuoured him. Epicures, & such as seeke so much to please the lyctorious taste of they^r mouth, that no riches can suffice them, they sayne in the ende to eat one another as did Ericheton, who they sayned to eat himselfe, vnder this figure, that he consumed the money which the whoremongers gaue him to lye with hys daughter. They sayne also this Ericheton to be the son of Proteus a God of the Sea, transformed into sundrie sorts of creatures: signifying therby the lightnes of our affectiōs, who by their inconstancie are chaunged into manye formes of appetite, sometimes desiring one thing, and sometimes another: swelling sometimes with pride like a Lion, & sometimes taking the forme of a Harte, by reason of their weakenesse and fear: & in the practise of sleights
and

and subtilties, are turned into the similitude of a ffore.

These be the names that Ouid sets before the eyes of men, as wonderful examples of things which happen in the world, as you and al readers of stayed mindes may finde by the discourse of hys booke of Metamorphosis: wherin you may perceiue, that the auncients as wel Philosophers as Poets, whē they began any worke of importance, they called vpon the ayde & fauour diuine: according to the testimonie of Plinie in an oration he made in y^e praise of Traiane, wherin he commended the custome of the auncients to make inuocation afore the beginning of their worke, and iudged that there coulde be no assured nor wise beginning of any enterprise, without the special ayde and counsel of God.

Ouid was not ignorant of this custome, and being a gentleman Romaine, he was also an Astrologian, Philosopher, politike and excellent Poet, as it is wel expressed in his booke of Metamorphosis, and special in the first, which conteyneth indifferently both Philosophie, and excellent Poetrie. In the seconde booke he declares himselfe a perfect Astrologian, giuing no apparaunce to haue any opinion that he was a man, liuing as he sayned, nor that he had any child, chariot, or horse. But vnder this fabulous description, he declareth the natural course of the Sun and of the firmament, together wth the naturall effectes that followe them: wherein to rebuke such as are ignorant, and of little knowledge in that science, he brings in Phaeton king of the *Indies*, who hauing a highe pride and warning in his knowledge (albeit by the iudgement of the historians he was verie vnresolute and simple) ledde diuerse people into error by his lawes and statutes corrupte, which was that fire of error wherewith he burned all the earth. Some sayned him to be the sonne of the Sunne, vnto whom they appoynted all men of singular witte, and helde him a God of sciences. But the occasion that the Poets tooke was vpon his death whiche happened in the voyage he made vpon the riner *Pate*, leading a greate armye by water by reason of the greate heate, and there was diuinely killed with an arrow or bolt that fel from heauen.

But to returne estsones to Ouid, it muste bee considered, that seeking to establishe in his worke an ende and purpose,
which

Golden Epistles.

which was, to shew to all good wits that shoulde come after him, the excellencie of his conceite and wonderfull inuention of hys Metamorphosis (which with god righte may be called the mother of Poesie) and also his resolute knowledge in all disciplines, together with the copie and varietie of his doctrine, ioyned to an exact iudgement in pollicie and hystories : knowing he was a man whose frailtie bare many impediments (without the aid of God) to execute and perfect the purpose he had taken: beganne his worke by a forme of inuocation to God, and saying. Oh milde Gods I beseech you (seeing all Metamorphosis and transfiguration proceedes of you) to assist me, and so blesse me in the beginning, that I may haue grace to continue to the ende, being thereby the better able to recompte the things that are happened from the beginning of the world til our time, and so descended into the partes of his argument, as it is expessed vpon his workes. Thus you haue the contents of your commaundement and my promise, which I haue sent you, not contriued of my self, but as I haue sought them amongst the writings of learned men, hoping they wil satisfy you the better, since I was carefull to write nothing which is not iustified by god authoritie.

A rebuke to ambition vnder the speeche of a
sauage man vttered in the Senate
of Rome.



So muche doe your importunities trouble me, that I wishe to bee eyther further from you, or at leaste that my condition were not so priuate, seeing that to the nearenesse of the place, you ioyne your authoritie, and make all things serue to your occasion to trouble me. If you claime me to your deuotion in respect of your merits, you bring shame to your liberalitie, since to exact recompence, is a manifest

exprobation of benefits receiued : & in a demaund so sobain, so great, and concerning so many euen of the greatest, there can be no lesse fault in you to tempt my patience, than rebuke in me to hazarde my ignozaunce, so; that he that is the executo; of the faulte, is lesse guiltie and blamable, than he that giueth the occasion. But seeing you proue me in a matter so high and ielous, I wil (to anoyde particular chalenge) send you myne opinion, vnder this discret & excellent discourse of a vilains published in the p;esence of the whole Senate of the Romaines and recommended to posteritie in wyting by M. Aurelius, wherein if you finde your selfe touched with your proper errorrs, haue regarde to the reasons of this rude Oratour, and be no lesse reformed of your coustousnesse, than he made the Senate ashamed of they; ambition and Tyrannie, assuring you, that as ambition is the beastly nourse of couetousnesse, and both they creepe in these dayes vnder a soyme and maner of seueritie : so it can not bee but that that man which desireth power, is an y^el maintayner of Justice, and he that thirsteth so; glorie,, runnes with greate swiftnesse into actions of iniuries and oppzession. And therfoze who aspireth to glorie and seekes his prayse of wicked men, must of necessitie be like vnto them. But now to our villaine, who speaking in a time when Rome was chaunged in customes and ciuil vertues, & peopled moze with flatterers than men of simplicitie and trueth: you muste also imagine him to stand at the bar in this description, his face little and thin, his countenaunce sharpe and pearcing, his colour blacke and swarffie, his haire diso;dered and staring, his eyes rolling and fierie, his beard long and thicke, his eyebrowes clowdie and hanging, his necke and stomacke all hairie, hys gyrdle of bulrushes pleated, hys shoes of the skinne of a wilde boare, and holding in his hand a great staffe o; truncheon: and being entred the Senate in this hydeous figure, he protested the reasons of his comming with no lesse boldnesse and maiestie of countenaunce and spirite than his p;esence and garments were monstrous and terrible.

Oh graue fathers (saith he) that in your liues and fundions were expressed such effect of pitie, as your outward p;esence declares me, site of reuerence, and apparance of equitie : then to my complaints should be ioyned present pitie and grace, to mine innocencie iust fauour and compassion. I salute you with that affection whiche the

Ambition
the nourse
of couetous
nes

oppression of my country can best afford, & with that hart which you haue to me in peeces with long miseries & exaction. I beseech the immortal Gods, so to inspire you with a spirite of iustice and clemencie, that the errors of your gouernement may be redressed: & to giue to my tong that moderation and wisdom which is conuenient to lay afoze you the calamities of my country, the liberties & auncient prerogatiues wherof, haue suffered a sinister & vnwoorthie charge, not by your might, no; by our weakenes, no; by your policie, no; by our negligence, but by the offences we haue done to our Gods, whose iustice is terrible where they finde obstinacie and hardnes of hart, yea to the reprobate they raise one murderer to kil an other, & one wicked Citie to afflict an other, & one proude nation to chase & persecute an other. Great is your glozie for the triumphes and victories you haue got in other countries: A thing verie familiar with men ambitious whose desires tende all to oppression, and al their felicities resolute in tyzannies: but greater shal be your infamies in the ages to come for the cruelties you haue done, seeing there is no offence which at one time or other suffereth not some punishment, no; no iniurie without his assured subiection to iustice. So great is your extortion to rauish the patrimonie of your neighbours, and your pride so vnbounde to commaunde ouer forrain regions, that neyther the Sea sufficeth to containe you in hir bottomes, no; the lande able to suffer you in hir huge valleyes and plaines, which intollerable ambition brings with it this vnfaigned reuenge, that as without reason you haue thowen others out of theyr countries and houses, so the Gods wil arme others with good equitie to remoue you from youre proude estate of *Rome* and *Italie*: for the law is infallible, that who by force rauisheth the goods of an other by good right loseth y^e which he holdeth of his owne: yea such is the measure & maner of Gods iustice, that as al the wicked man heaps vp by tyzannie in many daies suffereth spoyle and is consumed in one day: so, of the contrarie, what so euer good men lose in many yeres, God can & wil restore it in one houre. And therfore it is no small consolation to men vexed and afflicted, to remember that there is a iust God, to whom is referred the reuenge and iustice of innocent causes, the certaintie wherof, entertaines their hope, and keepes them from thoughtes and actes of despaire. And as when wicked men prosper, it is not for that GOD

wil

A reuenge
infallible
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goods of
an other.

willeth so, but so: that he suffereth it: so to such as dissemble in cō-
 plaints, and suffer expectation, he hath appointed the time of theyr
 deliuerie when their iniuries shall be redressed, and all their mour-
 ning turned into mirth and comforte, and they set as Iudges ouer
 the tyrannie of their enemies, whom they shal see burne and cōsume
 in the fire of Gods iustice. Let no man therfore maruaile why God
 taketh not from the wicked man forthwith, that which he hath gai-
 ned by violence and extortion: seeing that dissembling with them, he
 giueth them time to assemble and heap great things, to the end that
 when they are in their most securitie and delight, he might shew his
 power to their generall confusion: For this is one propertie in the
 iudgement of God, that who doth iniurie to an other without rea-
 son, against him shal be raised others, in whom it shal be holden good
 equitie, to reuerse their estates and pul them quite downe. Sure it
 is impossible that the vertuous and valiant man shoulde take taste
 in any thing that he holdes wrongfully of an other: For that, to re-
 member by what meanes it is got, is ynough to take away all con-
 tentment of the thing: seeing where the conscience only is not quiet,
 there the residue of the man is nothing but martyrdome and passion.

Wh, that is the greatest infamie that can happen to men, to holde in
 their heartes so many deare desires, and to abandon their hands to
 such libertie of action, that they make the miseries of others riches
 to themselues, and killing their neighbours, they thinke to wipe a-
 way the offence by washing their hands in the blood of such as they
 haue slaine: wherin it hath no great difference whether he be Greeke
 or Barbarian, absent or presente, deade or alieue, since it is moste true
 that such are and shal be accursed of God, & hated of men, who with-
 out further consideration exchange renowne for infamie, confound
 iustice wth tyrānie, peruerse equitie with iniquitie, abuse truth with
 falsehood, & be carelesse of that that is their owne, and sigh for the
 goods of an other: let no man haue moze resolute intentions to gather
 riches for his children, than to get renoune amongst the vertuous,
 since it is a rule infallible, that of the wicked gaine of fathers comes
 iuste losse to the children: but where vertue is in action, there hath
 renoune hys perpetuitie. And let no man esteeme hym selfe
 happye, for that he hath moze than others, or that for the same

Where the
 conscience
 is not quiet,
 the residue
 of the man
 is nothing
 but mar-
 tyrdome,

Or the wic-
 ked gaine
 of the fa-
 thers, comes
 iust losse of
 their chil-
 dren.

he is moze woꝛthie of honour, seeing if withal he open not his eyes to discern his pꝛoper errors, where the wicked list him vppē with a winde of vaine gloꝛie foꝛ his great power and patrimonie, he shall finde himselfe the slaue of his pꝛoper riches: foꝛ, little doth it pꝛofite to haue countries large and of long circuite oꝛ houses of sumptuous pꝛesence and bestowd full of wealth, and to haue his minde commaunded with cares, and all his desires still coꝛrupted with couetousnesse, which can not but dꝛawe infamie to h̄ getter, and yet serue little to the swēte sustenance of life. Wh that you *Romaines* were as couetous of your pꝛoper honour, as you are grādie of the goods of others, then should not the little woꝛme of ambition so fret the felicitie and rest of your life, noꝛ the miserable canker of infamie deuour your good renoune. Most of you in apparance seeme to hate pꝛide, & yet none followeth humilitie: al condemne dissolutenesse, and yet who is continent: you all pꝛaise patience, and yet none of you can suffer: you all accurse intemperancie, and yet none liue in oꝛder: all blame idlenesse, and yet in none of you is any example of trauel: all speake against byꝛbing, and none are frē from stealing. Lastly, euerie one of you with your tong is a publissher and blazer of vertues, and with all your other mēbers there is none of you which doth not administer to vices: yea, euen this Senate (alsoꝛ whom I stand) are no other than toꝛmentors of men h̄ loue & liue in rest & quiet, & violent thēues whose furie feedeth of the sweate of other mens laboꝛs.

I pray you what action had you being boꝛne vpon *Tyber*, to seeke to set out and dilate your limits euen to our riuer of *Danubie*, where we liued in peace: We haue lent no aid noꝛ fauour to your enemies: we haue conquered none of your pꝛouinces: neyther is there anye auncient law to pꝛoue that the noble and warlike *Germany* oughte of necessitie to be subiect to pꝛoude *Rome*: yea, if we had touched one an other in neighbourhood oꝛ nearenesse of countries, it might haue giuen some occasion of quarrel, foꝛ that amongst boꝛderers it is familiar to entertaine variaunce: but much lesse that we offended in anye of these, seeing we haue no sōner hearde of your fame and renoune, than we haue felt the scourges of your tyrannie, the name of the *Romaines*, and the crueltie of their iudges arriving at one instant in our nation. Wh wonderful iniquitie of men, when he that possesseth much, tyrannizeth ouer him that hath little: and he that hath little,

fle, beares enuie to him that hath much : wherin the law being led
 by affection, and iustice measured by opinion : it comes to passe that
 vnbridled couetousnes debates with secrete malice, and priuate ma-
 lice giues place to publicke theft : which bicause no man calls into
 iust examination and trial, it resolueth into this inconuenience, that
 the couetousnesse of one wicked man is accomplished by the preiu-
 dice of a whole nation : but if you call not into reckoning your ex-
 tortions past, and resourne in time your present ambition, it can
 not be, but eyther the immortall Gods will enter into iudgement of
 your abuses, or the world will cease to be a world, seeing there can
 not be a thing more iust, than the gods to make you slaues by iustice
 as you haue made your selues tyrants by force. Thinke not there-
 fore that bicause you haue made your selues Lordes of Germanie,
 that it is happened by any singular industrie of warre, but by the
 iudgement and sentence of the Gods : who, for that we haue offen-
 ded them, haue ordeyned in their secrete counsels, that to chastice
 our vices, you should be rayled as executioners, wherin if for our
 wickednes, the Gods haue withdrowne their fauour, what hope re-
 maineth to you, whose vices keepe them still in anger? and if for a
 scourge of our sinnes we bee made subiect to these miseries, what o-
 ther expectation appertaines to you than to suffer infinite calami-
 ties, hauing so infinitelie offended the Gods, that neither the life of
 you nor your chyldren is able to satisfie your faultes? Thinke not y
 either for the terroz of your mightie armies, or the brute of youre
 mightie armies, or y brute of your huge treasures, or that you haue
 the aide of more mightie Gods, or because you builde sumptuous
 Temples, or offer therein great sacrifices, that you are the more vi-
 ctorious, seeing that by how much we saue and cherish vertues, by
 so much haue we part and communitie with the Gods. If the glorie
 and triumphes of conquerors consisted not but to haue subtile and
 politike wits, captaines wel experienced, souldiours seruiceable and
 valiant, and armies compounded vppon greate numbers of men: It
 woulde be an easie matter to bring all these to the warres. But by
 experience we see that in men is no further power than to giue the
 battel, and to the Gods only belongs the arbiterment and consent of
 the victorie. In such a large distaunt of places, in warres so payneful
 to march, in a countrie so subtile and subiect to ambush, and a people

so rude and intractable, I see not what might moue you to make a conquest of *Germanie*: seeing if the desire of our wealth carried you into that enterprize, in good reckoning, there hath bene more monie spent to conquere it, and more allowonce made to maintaine it, than the reuenues of *Germanie* amounte vnto yea perhaps it may be conquered afoze the charges be satisfied. If you say you entered in: o the conquest for none other ende than to make *Rome* the Soueraigne Ladie ouer *Germanie*. Your vanitie was great, for that it little profites to holde the wals, and fortresses of people vanquished, if the hearts of the inhabitants be estranged. If you say you did it to amplifie and make great the bondes and confines of *Rome*, that serues also a reason both friuolous and vaine, because it is farre from the office of men wise and valiant, to increase in countries and patrimonie, and diminish in honour and vertue. If you made inuasion vpon vs, to the ende to reduce vs vnder good lawes and customes, and exchange vs from tyrants and people barbarous: How is it possible you should prescribe rules to strangers, seeing you make no conscience to break the lawes of your predecessours: and no more ought you to correcte others, that suffer so many vices in your selues, then it is meete that the lame man take him that is blinde to leade him. If ail these be true what other mindes can you alledge to pushe you forwardes to bere vs in *Germanie*, than that made it lawful for all men to rebbe, to kil, to conquer and to spoyle, and following the generall corruption of the world, farre diuided from the loue of God and good pollicie, you set mens mindes at libertie euerie one to take what he coule, and kil whom he would: Wherevnto this intollerable inconuenience is adioyned, that to all these greuous yls that are committed dayly neither those that gouerne wil giue remedie, nor suche as are bered dare complaine. For your Iudges are so parciall and farre estranged from pitie and iustice, that the miserable people oppressed holde it a leste euil to suffer their tribulations at home, than to laye them afoze you here in complainte. The reason is, for that in theyr owne Countrie it maye be they are pursued but by one, but here in the Senate they haue the disfauour of al, the more, if he that complaines be poze, and the partie y doth the wrong be rich: for that in this Senate sutes are not dispatched according to the equitie and

innocencie of causes, but according to the wealth and authoritie of the partie.

Having made vs subiect to your obedience, it is withall good reason you keepe vs in iustice, and minister to our countrey peace and tranquillitie. But alas it is all in the contrarie, seeing suche as you send to vs do nothing but rauish our goods, and the Senate here robbeth vs of our renoune, saying, that since we are a nation without lawes, without reason, and without a King, we deserue not to be otherwise reputed and bled than slaues, according to the custome of people barbarous unknowen. Wherein in this onely I maye saye you are iustlye confounded, for that such as we are, we are created of God: we liued at home contented with our owne, and had no stränge desires to seeke out strange countries: and therfore with greater reason we may esteeme you men without reason, lawe, and equitie, seeing that not content to be contayned within the compasse of *Italie*, you stretch out your murdering hands to shed innocent blood throughout al the world. Where you say we deserue no better than slaues, for that we haue no prince to commaunde vs, no Senate or counsell to gouerne vs, no armies to defend vs: I maye aunswere, that seeing we had no enemies to annoy vs, we liued without care to arreare armies: euerie one content with his portion & fortune, there was no necessitie of a proude Senate to decide our controuersies: & being as we were, popular, and equal, why should we consente to haue princes, to whose office it appertayneth chiefly to suppress tyrants, and suffer those people that liue in peace and tranquillity? And where you say y our country had no forme of comon weale nor policy, but y we passed a conuersation like brute beasts in mountains & caues: you are in this as wel as in the rest far deceiued, for that we neuer suffered in our countrey any that practised vntruthes, mutinies, or factions, and much lesse coulde we endure anye that broughte from strange countries garments or other wares, to make vs proud or effeminate, but being modest in attire, we were also temperate in diet, without expectation of better entreating. And albeit we knew not what were the sweet smells of *Asia*, nor medled with the golde of *Spaine*, nor tasted of the oyle of *Mauritania*, nor sipped of the wyne of *Candia*, and muche lesse coulde skil of the purple of *Arabia*: yet,

for all these we liued not at home like brute beastes, nor yet so bare to manage a common weale: for that such spiced trifles as those, bring moze occasions to sturre by vices, than to bryede or nourishe vertues. Right happy & well gouerned is a common wealth, not y^e wherin bee many traytours, but that which entertaineth men vertuous: not that which aboundeth in riches, but y^e which flourisheth in innocency and integritie: not where men liue rash and willfull, but where beare rule such as are of peace & iudgement. And therefore to the policie of Rome which is rich wee owe pittie and compassion, & to the gouernem^{et} of Germanie because it is poore, you ought to beare iustice wth fauoure: Wherein if the same contentment which we bryoke in our pouertie, had also remained to you in your wealth & abondance, we had been wout cause to complaine, & you without spot or blame of conscience.

A publike
fault must
not suffer a
secrete pu-
nishment.

I haue yet many things to say, which in this perpleritie of mind I haue no feare to spake, since you had no shame to doe them, for y^e a fault publicke must not suffer secrete correction. Did it not suffice you to take from vs our auncient libertie, and to ouerwhelme vs with intollerable subsidies and paiments? But the moze to entangle vs with all kinds of miseries, you send vs officers so couetous that they are all transformed into priuate gaine, and Judges so ignozant that they are not able to comprehend our statutes, nor make vs vnderstand your lawes. They punish grieuously the poore, and dissentible with the faults of the rich: they take all that is offered in publique, and refuse nothing that they can take in secret: they consent to many offences, because they will haue occasion to be greater gainers: and vnder colour that they are of Rome, they haue no feare to robbe all the world. When will cease your pride to commaund ouer straungers and your couetousnes to spoile your neighbours? If vs be disobedient, or that you suspect of our loyaltie or seruice, proceed to the dispatch of our liues, to y^e end we may be deliuered of paine, & you liue without ielousie, assuring you y^e your swords cannot be moze cruell in our bodies, thā are your tyrannies in our harts. If you lay thus many burdes vpon vs for our childre, load the wth irons, and take them as slaues, because you can lay no moze on them than they can beare, but of commaundementes and tributes you haue giuen vs moze than we can suffer: if you do it for our goods, we giue you

you libertie to take all, for that we haue not you condition to delight to liue poorely, for feare we should not dye riche. Oh to what extremities haue your tyrannies brought vs : seeing all the remainder of our miserable nation haue swozne togither, neuer to accompanie with our wiues, and to kil our proper children, the rather to deliuer them of your cruelties. And therefore holding it more honorable that they die with libertie, thā to liue in seruitude and captiuitie, we haue desperately determined to suffer, from henceforth the violent motions and furies of the flesh, and so to sequester our selues from the vse of our wiues to the end they may be barren, thinking it better to liue continent for twentie & thirtie yeares, (the residue of our time here) than to leaue to our children an inheritaunce of perpetual slaerie. For, if they haue to suffer those calamities which their sorrowfull fathers haue endured, it were not only good not to let them liue, but withall it were to consent not to haue them borne. The land that is conquered by force, ought to be gouerned with more clemencie and mildnesse, for y those y are miserable captiues, whē they see sauorable iustice administred, they will both forget the tyrannie past, and better prepare theyr hartes to the perpetuall seruitude : which if it be so, why do your officers in *Germanie* driue vs to complaine, and your Senate at *Rome* so slow to giue remedie, that afoze you wil admit an offence to the question, the whole common weale suffereth danger? If a poore man come to demaunde iustice, and haue no brybes of gold, silver, wine, purple, and other precious things to disperse: at the beginning he shal be entertained to spend all that he hath through a vaine hope to obtaine his cause: and being entred, they consume him by delays, and whilest he hath means to beare out the charges of the sute, they assure him that he hath god right, but when his liberalitie fayleth, they pronounce sentence against him, and so where he came to complaine but of one, he returneth accursing al, crying to the Gods for iustice and pitie.

I wil disclose some part of my life the better to make you see the calamities of my poore countrymen. I liue by acornes in winter, and fish in summer, sometimes bearing of burthens, and sometimes digging vp of wilde rootes, and that more for necessitie than pastime, passing the mosse part of my miserable time amongst the

Golden Epistles.

mountaines, boyd of the comfort of my wife, and companie of my
 friendes, and not for other reason, than to keepe myne eyes from
 the view of so many murders of good men, so many oppressions
 of the poore and innocent, and so many other calamities afflicting
 my poore countrie, that neither finding iustice there, nor hope of
 redresse in this senate, I am entred into this banishment from
 the society of my house & comforte, delighting more to wander alone
 through the woode and valleys deserte, than to be made sorrowful
 alwayes with the sighes, complaints, and lamentations of my
 neighbours: for, being a borderer in the Forrestes and woods, the
 wild beasts forbeare, to hurt me, if I refuse to do them harme,
 where the Romanes in my countrey, although I doe them seruice
 yet will they not spare to torment me. It is, no doubt, a great per-
 plexitie to endure a chaunge of fortune, but far more intollerable
 is the griefe, when the paine is self and cannot be remedied: so
 great is my euill, when my destruction is subiect to such a remedy
 as such as can helpe me, will not, & those I wold, cannot. Oh, it is
 time you had some sense of the miseries we feele, seeing that if in
 reducing them thus to memorie, my tongue fainteth, mine eyes
 grow dimme, my hearte vanisheth, and my flesh trembleth: much
 more grievous is it to see them in my countrey, to heare them
 with mine eares, to touch them with my finger, and to tast them
 in my hart: yea the iniquitie of your Iudges is so greates, and the
 iustice of this Senate so parcial, that it exceeds the facultie of flesh
 and blood to endure the one, and is hateful to all good men to heare
 of the other. And therefore in the accompte of all that I haue sayd
 I grow to this conclusion, that one of these two thinges are to be
 done, eyther to chastice me if I haue lied: or, if I haue told truth,
 you to be depriued of your offices, wherein for my part, if you do
 thinke my tongue hath taken an vnlawfull libertie to publish the
 roundnesse and simplicitie of my heart, I stretche out my selfe a-
 foze you in this place, and do offer my heade to the are, assuring
 my selfe of more honour by my death, than you can merite same
 or renone by ioyning so many miseries to my wretched life. Here
 the sauage manne gaue end to his oration, leauing the Senate in
 such remorse for the oppressions of *Germanie*, that the next day they
 establisshed other Iudges ouer that part vpon *Danubie*, and proceede
 ded

ded to punishe the corruption of others soꝛ peruer^ting so noble a
common weale.

Behold here (sir) what ho lincesse flow^ed out of the mouth of an
Ethnicke, from whom I wish you with other Iudges mercenary
as you are, to fetch your directions to refoꝛme the prouinces com-
mitted to your gouernement, and withal to discouer the subtilties
corruptions and iniquities of inferiour officers subsisting in Ci-
ties ond common weales. Foꝛ, who would set him downe to des-
cribe faithfully the deceites, the delays, the perplexities, and dan-
gerous endes of suites, he should find it a subiect not to be wꝛitten
with inke but with blood: seing if euerie suter suffer as much foꝛ
the holy faith of Chꝛist, as he endured about the trauel of his pro-
cesse, there would be as many martyres in chanceries, and other
Courts of iustice and recoꝛde of pꝛinces, as was at *Rome* in the ti-
mes of persecution by the, old Emperors. So that as to beginne a
processe at this day, is no other thing than to prepare soꝛrowe to
his hart, complaintes to his tong, teares to his eyes, trauel to hys
fæte, expenses to his purse, toyle to his men, triall of his friendes,
and to all the rest of his bodie nothing but paine and trauell: so,
the effectes and conditions of a processe are no other, than of a rich
man to become poꝛe: of a spirite pleasant, to settle into melan-
cholie: of a free minde to become bound: from liberalitie, to fall to
couetousnes: from truth to learne falschode and shiftes: and of a
quiet man to become a verer of others. So that I see no other dif-

ference betwene the tenne plagues that scourged *Egypt* and

the myseries that afflict suters, than that the calami-

ties of the one were inflicted by Gods pꝛoui-

dence, and the toꝛments of the other are

inuented by the malice of men,

who by their proper toyle,

make themselues be-

rye mar-

tyes.

FINIS.

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FINIS.

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